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ABSTRACT

This report presents a study of issues involving magnet schools in big city school districts. The study consisted of three parts: (1) an analysis of the attitudes of educators familiar with part-time desegregation; (2) an investigation of the role of magnet schools that have been making a positive contribution to the redevelopment of big city neighborhoods; and (3) a comparison of the social status and home environment of inner city students who attended magnet schools outside their neighborhood and those who attended local neighborhood schools. The first part of the report examines desegregation policies and practices at both the elementary and secondary level. The report's second section presents case studies of magnet schools in three cities. Finally, the third part deals with the question of whether inner city students who enroll in magnet schools are higher in social class and/or home environment than are students from the same neighborhood who do not elect magnet options. (Author/APM)

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 8-0907

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**A Study of Selected Issues Involving Magnet Schools
in Big City School Districts**

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June 10, 1980

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SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

This study of selected issues involving magnet schools in big city school districts consisted of three major parts.

Part I dealt with attitudes of persons who had some familiarity with part-time desegregation. A questionnaire exploring this issue was sent to 584 educators most of whom were employed in Dallas, Boston, and Milwaukee. Based on 138 usable responses, major conclusions were as follows:

1. Respondents were slightly more positive than negative in their views on whether "half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students" at the elementary level. Their views were more negative than positive on arrangements involving: "three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year," "less than three consecutive weeks," and "one full day each week for a semester or an academic year."

2. There were no differences between respondents who: (a) had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation compared with those who had little or no contact; (b) had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation compared with those who had little or no contact; and (c) had a great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of desegregated elementary education compared with those who had little or no indirect knowledge. However, the number of respondents who had either a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time desegregated elementary education was very small (N=10); for this reason, our analysis may have failed to uncover underlying differences that may exist in attitudes of educators with differing amounts of contact with

part-time desegregation at the elementary level.

3. There were no differences between respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time, desegregated, elementary education compared with those who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time desegregation. However, the groups constituted for this set of comparisons were small in number.

4. Respondents tended to be positive in their views on whether half-day arrangements at the secondary level can be of substantial benefit to students and whether these arrangements can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements. This was true both for improving interracial contact and improving instructional opportunities for minority students. Like responses regarding desegregated elementary education, responses regarding other types of part-time arrangements at the secondary level were neutral to negative.

5. There were no differences between respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time, desegregated secondary education compared with respondents who had little or no contact.

6. Respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time desegregated secondary education had more positive views about half-day arrangements than respondents who had little or no contact. This was true both for improving interracial contact and for improving instructional opportunities for minority students. The two groups did not differ on the remaining three items dealing with other types of part-time arrangements.

7. Respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with both full-time and part-time, desegregated secondary education were much more

positive about the value of half-day arrangements than were respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact only with full-time, desegregated secondary education.

8. Conclusions regarding half-day arrangements at the secondary level were not inordinately influenced by the fact that many of our respondents were from the Dallas Public Schools.

9. At both the elementary and secondary levels respondents attached considerable importance to policies and practices described in the following statements:

Staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations.

Students should be grouped in small groups with more deliberate racial balancing.

The school should provide programs to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

The school should provide transportation to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

Instructional activities should be designed specifically to foster interracial cooperation.

The staff should have special expertise to recognize and to respond to different learning styles of students.

10. On the other hand, respondents tended to disagree with the following statement:

A significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues.

There should be frequent intensive overnight experiences like a camping weekend.

11. Respondents did not differ in their reactions to these statements according to their personal contact or familiarity with desegregation.

The second part of the study was an exploratory investigation examining the role of magnet schools which have been making a positive contribution to the redevelopment of big-city neighborhoods. Major conclusions were as follows:

1. A split-day schedule emphasizing both basic skills and enrichment in applying basic skills appears to be a valuable approach in attracting a variety of students to enhance urban conservation and development goals in big city neighborhoods.

2. Depending on the situation, either a large facility or a small facility can contribute to the goal of retaining and attracting middle class parents. A large facility sometimes is desirable if the school is located in a working class neighborhood surrounded by middle class neighborhoods; a small facility sometimes is desirable if it is to serve a middle class enclave surrounded by working class neighborhoods.

3. Magnet school planning can and should address the goal of enlarging opportunity--particularly as regards reduction of racial and economic isolation--for working class minority students while also retaining or attracting middle class students. One way to do this, as suggested by circumstances at the Westport Community School, is to locate elementary magnets at large facilities with considerable unused space in middle class or mixed class communities undergoing revitalization, and then reassign inner city minority students to the magnet on a controlled basis as it succeeds in attracting additional non-minority or middle class students.

The third study dealt with the issue of whether inner city students who attend a magnet school outside their neighborhood are higher in social status

and home environment than inner city students in local neighborhood schools. The first two components in the study utilized school-wide data comparing students at magnet schools and local neighborhood schools on socioeconomic status. The third component examining home environment used interview data on 28 magnet school students and 28 neighborhood school students. Data were collected in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The first two components in this study clearly indicated that inner city black students who attend magnet elementary schools outside their neighborhood are higher in socioeconomic status as measured by mother's education, occupation, and social class than are inner city black students who choose to remain in local neighborhood schools. This finding indicates that educators should be careful in evaluating and drawing conclusions about the performance of inner city students who attend magnet schools. Differences between magnet and non-magnet students in attitudes, achievement, and other school performance measures may be due to differences in social class rather than school effectiveness. In addition, educators should be concerned with potentially damaging effects in local neighborhood schools when relatively high status students are "skimmed off" to attend magnet schools. This study dealt only with a few schools in one city, but it is likely that similar patterns can be found in other schools and cities.

The third component in the study compared the home environment of 28 inner city black students attending magnet schools with the home environment of 28 students (matched on race, sex, and grade level) who attended local neighborhood schools. Results indicated that the mothers of magnet students had different scores from the mothers of non-magnet students on the following

interview variables: the respective ages the son and daughter were allowed to stay home alone evenings; family intactness; belief in authoritative control; belief that friendly teachers lack control; knowledge of the child's school subjects and abilities; belief that parents are not doing their job when their children are lazy in school work; belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents; belief that children should take their troubles to their parents; number of games in the home; the necessity for emphasizing basic skills; parental aspirations for the child's education; and tolerance of bureaucracy.

Discussion of these responses suggested that as compared with the parents of students at local inner city schools, the parents of inner city students attending magnet schools may be more protective, more inclined to practice authoritative control, more supportive of teacher authoritativeness rather than teacher friendliness, more aware of the child's progress in school, and more tolerant of and able to work within the dynamics of organizational systems such as the public schools. In addition, magnet parents reported higher aspirations for their children's education and a larger number of games in the home than did the non-magnet parents. Taken together, these findings indicate that the parents of inner city students who attend magnet schools may make greater or more successful efforts to protect their children from negative forces in the inner city environment and may provide a home environment more conducive to school achievement than do the parents of inner city students who remain in local neighborhood schools.

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ATTITUDES REGARDING PART-TIME DESEGREGATION OF EDUCATORS FAMILIAR WITH DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

The purpose of this part of the larger study was to examine the attitudes concerning part-time desegregation of educators thought to be familiar with desegregated programs or situations in the public schools. Many school districts provide part-time desegregated education for students but little is known concerning the relative merits of part-time and full-time desegregation. This issue is becoming an important one nationally for reasons which include the following:

-With the emergence and rapid growth of the magnet school movement in the 1970's, many school districts have established desegregated schools or programs which students attend voluntarily on a part-time basis. Part-time arrangements generally range from half-day attendance all year at one pole to only one or two weeks of participation in a desegregated program on the other. Many educators as well as lay people frequently argue that it is better to have students voluntarily attend a desegregated school or program on a part-time basis than to assign them involuntarily to a desegregated situation either full-time or part-time. Reasons usually given for this preference are that full-time arrangements make it difficult to recruit students voluntarily and that assignment to full-time schools or programs outside the local neighborhood may contribute significantly to student withdrawal from the public schools, particularly among nonminority students. For example, requiring secondary students to attend a full-time school at some distance from their homes or allowing them to participate only full-time in otherwise-attractive magnet programs may in effect exclude students who are committed to attending school with friends from their neighborhoods or are intent on participating in athletics or other extracurricular activities in a local school.

-Confusion exists concerning whether legal mandates for desegregation require full-time participation in a desegregated school or program. In many cases court-ordered or HEW-supervised desegregation plans require that all or most of the student assignments counted as desegregative be in full-time settings but in other cases a considerable proportion of part-time arrangements has been acceptable. In many other cases court orders and/or school district desegregation plans make little or no distinction between full-time and part-time desegregation and/or never explicitly address the issue of whether students sometimes can or should participate in desegregated schools or programs on a part-time basis. Some courts have refused to accept part-time arrangements as being an acceptable means of desegregation but in other cases courts have specifically allowed districts to incorporate part-time arrangements as part of their desegregation programming. Judicial and federal, state, and local executive judgments dealing with this issue seldom if ever have been based on inclusion or weighing of any empirical evidence concerning the relative merits of part-time and full-time desegregation.

-Issues involving part-time desegregation are becoming prominent and difficult in big-city school districts with a high percentage of minority students. At the present time educators in many of these districts are or feel forced into a possibly unnecessary choice between part-time and full-time integration. For example, officials in city school districts with seventy percent or more minority students may be trying to recruit or assign nonminority students to desegregate predominantly minority schools, but in most cases these students would come from schools that already are racially balanced and might well become resegregated if nonminority students leave to attend another school full-time. Meanwhile, little or no attention generally is given to systematically developing half-time arrangements that might enable both the sending school and the receiving school to be desegregated, assuming that half-day arrangements can or should be

classified as providing a beneficial desegregative experience. Thus it is important to begin to determine whether half-time arrangements provide a positive setting for desegregation in education.

-The issue of full-time enrollment also is critical in considering the prospects for voluntary metropolitan desegregation. In Boston, for example, thousands of central city and suburban students attend school together in special programs which may last only one or two months a year. It would be desirable if desegregated experience of this type lasted all year every year, but for various reasons that does not appear feasible on a widespread voluntary basis for most participants, and meanwhile it is possible that major desegregation gains are being made through these programs. At the least, it is not at all clear that such programs are worthless as a desegregation tool even though they are only part-time. More needs to be learned about the operation of such magnet programs and the degree to which they may make a positive contribution to the goals of desegregation.

Our proposal for this part of the study pointed out that a full-fledged investigation of part-vs-full-time desegregation issues was beyond the scope and resources of our project but that data would be collected to develop preliminary perspectives and conclusions. We outlined the following components to be included in carrying out this task:

- "a) Survey of data available from the administrators of part-time magnet programs available in Boston, Dallas, and other cities.
- b) Survey of the opinions of administrators, knowledgeable citizens, and other informed observers in these cities.
- c) Analysis of the desegregation research literature bearing on the issue of part-time vs. full-time enrollment.
- d) Analysis of the relative potential of full-time vs. part-time magnet school desegregation based on a national survey of desegregation experts."

Our search of the literature on desegregation in general and part-time desegregation in particular failed to uncover sufficient information to allow for analysis of the relative benefits of the two approaches based on previous

research. The only study available which examined the topic of part-time desegregation in a systematic and explicit manner was one which was conducted by TDR Associates, Inc. of Newton, Massachusetts and was summarized in Theory Into Practice in 1978. This study examined magnet programs which were funded in 1976-77 by the state government in Massachusetts and were defined under state regulations as "Educational measures . . . that provide children with part-time, racially-balanced educational activities that draw students from at least two different schools, for not less than the equivalent of ten school days a semester."¹ Magnet programs in Massachusetts are required to meet racial balance guidelines of not more than 50 percent nor less than 30 percent non-white enrollment and to provide a minimum equivalent of ten school days per semester, with one day equal to five hours. The typical program in 1976-77 met half a day each week for twenty weeks, but some were more intensive such as one type of program that met all day for two weeks.

The TDR study correlated a number of program characteristics with program outcomes assessed in terms of "student integration" and "school impact." Student integration was assessed primarily through a 73-item questionnaire administered to measure integration-related attitudes and knowledge of 737 students, interviews with students and staff, and observation. School impact was defined as the extent to which the magnet program was integrated into regular school programming.

Among the findings regarding student integration were the following two major conclusions:

The higher the total number of hours in a program (orig. ital.), the higher the student integration gains. The median number of hours for programs was 40, with a low of 14, a high of 400 . . .

Students in programs that conducted all-day sessions for several continuous days, showed higher integration gains than programs that met one or two afternoons a week for several months. About one-third of the sample programs met continuously. Schedules for the other programs ranged from 15 to 20 two-hour sessions over several weeks . . .²

¹ Quoted in George B. Thomas and Charles B. McMillan, "Magnetism and Integration in Massachusetts," Theory Into Practice, v. 17, no. 2, 1978, 141.

² Ibid., 142-143.

The full report of the TDR study also indicates that part-time programs included in the 1976-77 investigation were more successful in improving students' integration-related attitudes and knowledge at the secondary level than at the elementary level.³ The TDR study was useful in helping us formulate questions for our study, but it did not specifically address the issue of part-time vs. full-time desegregation. We were unable to find other studies or reports which provided systematic analysis on this issue.

Having found little relevant material in the form of previous research or analysis, we proceeded to initiate other activities designed to provide data on issues involving part-time vs. full-time desegregation. First, we contacted appropriate school officials in the Boston, Cincinnati, Dallas, Kansas City, and Milwaukee metropolitan areas to determine whether studies, reports, position papers, or other relevant documents dealing with part-time desegregation had been prepared locally. As mentioned above, we had obtained access to one pertinent report available in the Boston area, but otherwise we found that no relevant documents were available and that our contact persons did not know of any such documents available in other cities. Part-time desegregation appears to have received little explicit attention in research or analysis anywhere in the United States.

Hence, we proceeded to develop our own questionnaire to survey the opinions of educators and knowledgeable observers in accordance with components b and d in our original proposal (see above). At this point it should be noted that we decided to phrase our questionnaire in terms of desegregation in general rather than desegregated magnet schools in particular. However, as described below most of the questionnaires were sent to individuals connected with magnet schools and programs in large metropolitan areas. After considerable discussion,

³ George B. Thomas and William J. Genova, The Characteristics of Part-Time Educational Programs that Best Achieve Integration Outcomes and School Impact. Newton, Massachusetts: TRD Associates, Inc. October, 1977, p. 1.

we decided to inquire about respondents' opinions concerning two major goals of desegregation (providing interracial contact and improving instructional opportunities for minority students) and four major types of part-time arrangements (half-day, three or four consecutive weeks, less than three consecutive weeks, and one full day each week for a semester or an academic year). Accordingly, we devised a questionnaire with a set of five basic items as follows to assess attitudes regarding the goal of providing interracial contact:

1. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.
2. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.
3. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.
4. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.
5. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.

Response categories for these items were as follows: Agree very much; Agree; Not sure; Disagree; and Disagree very much. An equivalent set of five items was prepared regarding the goal of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, and the entire set of ten items was to be repeated twice on the questionnaire, once with reference to elementary education and once for secondary education. Unfortunately, the final version of the questionnaire omitted the label "elementary" before the five items dealing with improvement of instructional opportunities for minority students. This created confusion in the reactions of some of our respondents, and for this reason the analysis described below will not include data on respondents' reactions concerning part-time desegregation for the purpose of improving instructional opportunities for minority students at the elementary level.

The questionnaire was sent to 584 persons thought to have worked in or had contact with desegregated schools or programs. Four-hundred and fourteen of these individuals were connected or identified with magnet schools in Dallas, 94 were associated with magnet schools and programs in the Boston metropolitan area, 46 were connected with speciality (magnet) schools in the Milwaukee metropolitan area, and thirty were on a national list we prepared of individuals known to be interested in desegregated education. (We had decided to send the same questionnaire to school district personnel and other interested observers such as college professors conducting desegregation research.)

Usable questionnaires were completed and returned by 138 respondents, a response rate of 24 percent. While this rate of response probably is within the acceptable range for a mail survey, it is less than we had hoped to obtain for a relatively short questionnaire (four professionally-printed fold-over pages) most of which consisted of categorical-response items. On the other hand, it should be kept in mind that many of the individuals to whom the questionnaire was sent may have had relatively limited contact with or knowledge of desegregation and may not have responded for this reason, particularly in Dallas where our list included all professional personnel in that district's magnet high schools. Several of these high schools have only a small percentage of non-minority students, and some of the staff at magnet high schools may have relatively limited contact with students. In any case, we believe there may have been a tendency for those who responded to have had more contact with or knowledge of desegregation than those who did not, and we were pleased with the fact that all but one of our 138 respondents indicated that they had had either "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of personal contact with students in either full-time or part-time desegregated programs in the public schools.

The questionnaire also asked respondents to describe their job or position and, on an optional basis, to designate their institutional affiliation. Data from these items indicated that 70 were secondary teachers, six were elementary teachers, 22 were principals, supervisors, program coordinators, or in other administrative positions in the public schools, eight were guidance counselors, two were program evaluators, and the remaining thirty respondents were in a miscellaneous category including one HEW employee, one state superintendent of schools, two college professors, and several other types of position in education. Data on institutional affiliation indicated that 84 respondents were associated with schools in Dallas, 26 were identified with schools in the Boston metropolitan area, eight were associated with Milwaukee-area schools, and the remaining twenty did not provide a response associated with schools in these metropolitan areas.

In examining the following analysis, the reader should keep in mind that a plurality (51) of our respondents classified by school district and elementary-secondary level were secondary teachers associated with the public schools in Dallas, which has one of the nation's largest programs providing for half-time desegregation in secondary schools.⁴ This means that our findings are likely to reflect developments and experience in the Dallas Public Schools. Particularly inasmuch as 72 of the 103 respondents (60%) in our sample who said they had had "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of previous personal contact with part-time desegregation were associated with public schools in Dallas, it is possible that our conclusions with respect to the relative merits of full-time vs. half-time desegregation at the secondary level may reflect tendencies for half-time desegregation to have proven more or less successful in Dallas than in other locations.

⁴ Dallas magnet high schools have allowed students to enroll either full-time or half-time. Approximately two-thirds of the students who attended some of the magnet high schools in 1976-77 enrolled on a half-time basis.

Desegregation at the Elementary Level

The first step in our analysis was to identify the general level of response to the items dealing with opinions concerning the value of part-time desegregation for the purposes of providing interracial contact at the elementary level. As mentioned above, due to omission of a label on the questionnaire we did not have usable responses dealing with the goal of improving instructional opportunity for minority students in the elementary school. Mean scores and standard deviations for the five items dealing with interracial contact at the elementary level are reported in Table I.

As shown in Table I, responses were generally neutral-to-negative concerning the value of part-time desegregation in providing interracial contact at the elementary level. Respondents were slightly more positive than negative in their views on whether "half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students:" the mean of 2.89 was slightly under the scale mid-point of 3 representing a response of "not sure." On the remaining four items, however, means were between the "not sure" and the "disagree" categories, indicating that respondents tended to disagree that half-day arrangements "can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements" or that arrangements a month or less in duration or a full day each week are of substantial benefit to students. Respondents were particularly negative concerning the value of part-time arrangements lasting less than three consecutive weeks; on this item the mean score was 3.80 and the standard deviation was slightly lower than was true for the other four items.

The next step in our analysis was to compare the answers of respondents who said they had contact with or knowledge of desegregated schools with those who said they were not familiar with desegregation. To do this, we computed values on the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test (K-S) for differences between ordinal responses

TABLE I-1

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Items Dealing with the Value of Part-time Desegregation
at the Elementary Level

	X	S.D.	N
1. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	3.23	1.14	62
2. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.89	1.08	63
3. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.44	1.03	63
4. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.80	.96	62
5. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.48	1.08	62

of two independent groups⁵ after constituting the groups in accordance with responses to the following three items:

1. To what degree have you had personal contact with students in full-time desegregated elementary programs?

A great deal A fair amount A little None

2. To what degree have you had personal contact with students in part-time desegregated elementary programs?

A great deal A fair amount A little None

3. To what degree have you acquired indirect knowledge (e.g. reading reports, talking with teachers or students) of student behaviors in desegregated elementary programs?

A great deal A fair amount A little None

Due to the small numbers of respondents in some of the response categories, we first combined the responses of those who said they had "a great deal" and "a fair amount" of contact or knowledge regarding the three items listed above. The responses of those who circled "a little" and "none" also were combined. Next, we compared the responses of these two groups on the five items dealing with interracial contact at the elementary level. The results constituted separately for the three questions indicated above are shown in Table 2.

The first question regarding experience with desegregation asked respondents to characterize their previous personal contact with full-time desegregation. As shown in Table 2, twenty-three respondents indicated that they had had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with desegregation at the elementary level, and forty indicated they had little or no personal contact of this kind. The data in the first three columns of Table 1 indicate there were no differences between these two groups in their responses concerning the benefits of part-time

⁵ Norman H. Nie and C. Hadlai Hull, SPSS Batch Release 7.0 Update Manual. March, 1977, p. 43 (mineo). The Kolmogorov-Smirnov is a conservative nonparametric test that is relatively resistant to imbalances in distribution when comparing data for two groups.

the Value of Part-time Desegregation at the Elementary Level
GROUPS

	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of student behavior in elementary desegregated programs.		
	(N=23)	(N=40)		(N=10)	(N=53)		(N=40)	(N=23)	
	X	X	K-S;p*	X	X	K-S;p*	X	X	K-S;p*
For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	3.22	3.20	.11;1	3.00	3.25	.58;.90	3.18	3.26	.28;1
For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.92	2.85	.29;1	2.82	2.89	.22;1	2.93	2.78	.47;.98
For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.33	3.48	.55;.92	3.09	3.49	.55;.92	3.41	3.43	.44;.99
For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.83	3.72	.36;1	3.73	3.77	.61;.85	3.80	3.68	.59;.88
For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.	3.50	3.44	.41;.99	3.54	3.44	.24;1	3.48	3.45	.42;1

The K-S value before the semi-colon is the Kolmogorov-Smirnov value; the number after the semi-colon is the two-tailed probability that the two groups do not differ in mean scores.

desegregation. On the five items dealing with benefits of part-time desegregation for purposes of improving interracial contact at the elementary level, the mean scores of the two groups were within .15 points of each other on each item, and none of K-S values indicated even a slight trend toward statistically significant differences.

The second question regarding experience with desegregation asked respondents to characterize their previous personal contact with part-time desegregation. We were particularly interested in responses classified by this item because of the possibility that respondents who have had contact with part-time desegregation might differ in their views from respondents who have not had such contact. As before, respondents were classified into two groups according to whether they had either a great deal or a fair amount of previous personal contact with (part-time) desegregated elementary education, or had little or no previous contact.

Mean scores and statistical tests for the two groups are shown in columns four through six in Table 2. Although these differences appeared larger on several items than those in the previous set of comparisons, standard deviations (not shown in the table) among the relatively small groups of ten respondents who had either a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation also were high, and none of the five K-S values approached statistical significance at the .05 level. Thus respondents did not differ in their views on part-time desegregation according to their previous contact with part-time desegregation.

The third question regarding experience with desegregation asked respondents to characterize their degree of "indirect knowledge" of desegregated elementary programs. As before, respondents were categorized according to whether they had either a great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of desegregation, or had little or no indirect knowledge. Mean scores and statistical tests for the two groups are shown in columns seven through nine in Table 2.

As indicated in Table 2, mean scores for the two groups classified by indirect knowledge of desegregated elementary programs were very similar. None of the K-S values showed any tendency toward a statistically significant difference between the two groups. Thus we conclude that respondents did not differ in their views on part-time desegregation according to the extent to which they had acquired indirect knowledge of desegregate education at the elementary level.

To complete this part of the analysis, we also compared the answers of respondents who said they had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time desegregated elementary education with those who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time programs of this kind. Mean scores and statistical tests for these comparisons are shown in Table 3.⁶ As indicated in Table 3, none of the five comparisons indicated any trend toward statistically significant differences between the two groups. Again, we conclude that respondents did not differ in their views on the benefits of part-time desegregation according to their previous contact with full-time or part-time desegregated education at the elementary level.

We also would have liked to compare the views of respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of previous contact with both full-time and part-time elementary desegregation with the views of other respondents. However, we did not have enough respondents in the former category to allow for this type of comparison. Nevertheless, the preceding analysis has made it clear that respondents in our study did not differ in their views concerning the benefits of part-time desegregation according to their previous personal contact or knowledge

⁶The computer program we used requires that each subject in this type of comparison be placed in one or the other group. This requirement reduced the number of subjects in the group of respondents familiar with full-time desegregation from 23 (Table 2) to 14. Data reported in Table 3 should be treated cautiously because of the relatively small numbers of respondents in the two groups.

	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation	
	N=14	N=10	
1. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	X 3.43	X 3.00	K-S; p* .69;.73
2. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.07	2.82	.27;1
3. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.36	3.09	.45;.99
4. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.71	3.77	.61;.85
5. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.	3.29	3.54	.31;1

*The K-S value before the semi-colon is the Kilmogorov-Smirnov value; the number after the semi-colon is the two-tailed probability that the two groups do not differ in mean scores.

of full-time or part-time desegregation, and that their views generally were neutral-to-negative concerning the value of part-time desegregation in providing interracial contact at the elementary level.

Desegregation at the Secondary Level

Our analysis of responses dealing with desegregated secondary education generally was similar to the preceding analysis regarding elementary education. The first step in this analysis was to examine the general level of response to items dealing with part-time desegregation at the secondary level. Mean scores and standard deviations for the ten items dealing with the value of part-time desegregation are shown in Table 4.

The data in Table 4 suggest that respondents were more positive about the value of half-time desegregation for the purpose of providing interracial contact at the secondary level than at the elementary level. As shown in the table, the mean score on the item stating that for improving interracial contact, secondary "half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements" was 2.65, compared with a mean of 3.23 for responses regarding the elementary level (Table 2). Similarly, the mean score on the item stating that "half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students" at the secondary level was 2.34, compared with 2.89 at the elementary level.⁷ The mean score of 2.34 is closest to the "agree" category on the five-point response scale for these items. The remaining three items dealing with the value of part-time desegregation for the purpose of providing interracial contact at the secondary level had mean scores between 3.35 and 3.74. These latter scores are between the "not sure" and the "disagree" categories and are not much different from scores on these items dealing with the

⁷ Chi-square tests showed that responses to the two items dealing with half-day arrangements for improving interracial contact at the secondary level were significantly different beyond the .005 level from responses to the comparable items dealing with half-day elementary arrangements.

TABLE 1-4

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for Items Dealing with the Value of Part-time Desegregation at the Secondary Level

	X	S.D.	N
1. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.65	1.23	130
2. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.34	1.13	131
3. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.35	1.02	131
4. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.74	.98	131
5. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.58	1.04	132
6. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.84	1.21	130
7. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.56	1.10	130
8. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.50	.94	132
9. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.80	.87	132
10. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.72	.93	131

elementary level.⁸ We conclude that respondents in our sample tended to be positive about the value of half-day arrangements for the purpose of providing interracial contact at the secondary level but negative about the value of other types of part-time arrangements denoted in items three, four, and five.

Similar conclusions appear to be justified concerning respondents' views about the value of part-time desegregation for the purpose of improving instructional opportunities for minority students at the secondary level. Mean scores on the items dealing with the value of half-day, secondary arrangements (items six and seven in Table 4) were between the "agree" and "not sure" response categories, while mean scores for items dealing with other part-time arrangements (items eight, nine, and ten) were between the "not sure" and "disagree" categories. Thus we conclude that respondents in our sample tended to be positive about the value of half-day arrangements for improving instructional opportunities for secondary-level minority students but negative about the value of other types of part-time arrangements for this purpose.

The next step in our analysis was to compare the views of respondents who had had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time desegregated secondary education with the views of respondents who had little or no personal contact. As shown in Table 5, none of the differences between these two groups approached statistical significance. Thus we conclude there are no differences in views on the value of part-time desegregated education at the secondary level between respondents classified by previous personal contact with full-time desegregation at this level.

⁸ Chi-square tests indicated no difference between responses to the two sets of remaining (three) items dealing with elementary and secondary education, respectively.

the Value of Part-time Desegregation at the Secondary Level
GROUPS

	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of student behavior in elementary desegregated programs.		
	(N=120) X	(N=11) X	K-S;p*	(N=103) X	(N=25) X	K-S;p*	(N=120) X	(N=6) X	K-S;p*
1. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.64	2.55	.36;1	2.33	3.72	2.41;.00	2.62	2.50	.32;1
2. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.35	2.33	.44;1	2.07	3.44	2.51;.00	2.33	2.17	.35;1
3. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.37	3.08	.63;.82	3.27	3.68	.84;.47	3.33	3.17	.37;1
4. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.78	3.42	.54;.93	3.68	3.92	.43;.99	3.73	3.29	.41;1
5. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.	3.61	3.33	.36;1	3.50	3.80	.63;.82	3.56	3.14	.72;.68

*The K-S value before the semi-colon is the Kolmogorov-Smirnov value; the number after the semi-colon is the two-tailed probability that the two groups do not differ in mean scores.

	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation			Little or no personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation			Little or no personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation			A great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of student behavior in elementary desegregated programs.			Little or no indirect knowledge of student behavior in desegregated elementary programs.		
	(N=120)	(N=11)	K-S;p	(N=103)	(N=25)	K-S;p	(N=120)	(N=6)	K-S;p	(N=120)	(N=6)	K-S;p	(N=120)	(N=6)	K-S;p	(N=120)	(N=6)	K-S;p
6. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.81	3.12	.87;.44	2.55	3.80	2.14;00	2.83	2.67	.43;.99									
7. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.52	3.00	.65;.79	2.28	3.48	2.22;00	2.52	2.67	.30;1									
8. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.50	3.42	.48;.97	3.43	3.72	.65;.80	3.47	3.50	.12;1									
9. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students	3.81	3.67	.56;.92	3.76	3.96	.57;.90	3.77	4.00	.47;.98									
10. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving one full day each wk. for a semester or an academic yr. can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.73	3.58	.30;1	3.69	3.67	.43;.99	2.79	3.50	.56;.92									

*(See Page one)

Following this analysis we compared the answers of respondents who said they had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time desegregated secondary education with those of respondents who had little or no contact. As shown in Table 5, there were no differences between these two groups except in the case of the four items dealing with the value of half-day arrangements. On these items, respondents who had had at least a fair amount of personal contact with part-time desegregation were more likely to say that half-day arrangements can be "nearly as effective as full-day arrangements" and that "half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students" than were respondents who had little or no contact with part-time programs. This was true both with respect to the purpose of providing interracial contact and the purpose of improving instructional opportunity for minority students. For both sets of items respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of previous contact with part-time desegregation scored close to the "agree" response category, while respondents with little or no previous contact scored between "not sure" and "disagree." Thus self-reported previous contact with part-time desegregation is associated with a belief that half-day arrangements at the secondary level can be beneficial in terms of providing interracial contact and of improving instructional opportunities for minority students.

We also compared the answers of respondents who said they had a great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of desegregated secondary programs with those of respondents who had little or no indirect knowledge of this type. However, these comparisons were not meaningful because there were only six respondents in the latter group.

To complete this part of the analysis, we also compared the answers of respondents who said they had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time secondary desegregation with the responses of those who said they had had this much contact with both full-time and part-time desegregated programs

at the secondary level. (The computer program we used separated respondents into one or the other of these two groups. We feel that this grouping provides our best comparisons but did not have enough respondents to do a strictly comparable analysis at the elementary level). The results of these comparisons are shown in Table 6.

As indicated in Table 6, respondents who are familiar with both full-time and part-time desegregation are much more likely to be positive about half-day arrangements than are respondents familiar only with half-day arrangements, but the two groups do not differ with regard to other kinds of part-time arrangements assessed in our questionnaire. This pattern holds with respect to half-day arrangements both for purposes of providing interracial contact and for purposes of improving instructional opportunity for minority students. For both sets of items dealing with half-day arrangements, respondents familiar with both part-time and full-time programs score near the "agree" response category, whereas respondents familiar only with full-time desegregation score near the "disagree" category. Acquaintance with both part-time and full-time desegregated secondary education is associated with more positive views about half-day desegregation at the secondary level than is contact limited to full-time desegregation.

It should be recalled at this point that respondents associated with secondary schools in Dallas constituted 69 percent of our respondents who said they had had "a great deal" or "a fair amount" of contact with part-time, desegregated secondary education. This raised questions concerning whether results reported above are primarily reflecting experience in Dallas and whether educators who have had contact with part-time, desegregated secondary education in other locations also tend to be positive about the value of half-day arrangements. To explore these issues, we compared the answers of Dallas respondents who said they had had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time secondary desegregation with those of other respondents who said they had this kind of contact. The results are shown in Table 7.

Secondary Education or Part-Time Desegregated Secondary Education

GROUPS

A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time secondary desegregation.

A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time secondary desegregation and with part-time secondary desegregation.

(N=21)

(N=99)

X

X

K-S;p*

1. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.

4.00

2.35

2.70;.00

2. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.

3.52

2.10

2.49;.00

3. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.

3.71

3.29

.643;.80

4. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.

4.00

3.73

.50;.97

5. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.

3.90

3.54

.62;.84

The K-S value before the semi-colon is the Kilmogorov-Smirnov value; the number after the semi-colon is the two-tailed probability that the two groups do not differ in mean scores.

Secondary Education or Part-Time Desegregated Secondary Education
GROUPS

	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time secondary desegregation	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time secondary desegregation and with part-time secondary desegregation.	
	(N=21)	(N=99)	
6. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	X 4.05	X 2.52	K-S;p* 2.43;.00
7. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.59	2.28	2.17;.00
8. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.82	3.43	.62;.84
9. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	4.00	3.77	.54;.94
10. For purposes of improving instructional opportunities for minority students, part-time arrangements involving one full day each wk. for a semester or an academic yr. can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.90	3.69	.36;.1

*(See Page one)

As shown in Table 7, Dallas respondents in this set of comparisons may have tended to be slightly more positive about half-day arrangements and slightly more negative about other part-time arrangements for desegregated, secondary education than were other respondents. This pattern appeared on items dealing both with providing interracial contact and with instructional opportunities for minority students. However, only one of these differences was significant at the .05 level and only one other approached significance at this level. In addition, none of the four differences between the two groups on items dealing with half-time arrangements were larger than .30 on our 5.0 scale. Thus we conclude that the two groups did not differ fundamentally in their responses and that the findings reported above concerning half-day desegregation at the secondary level were not inordinately influenced by the fact that so many of the respondents were associated with the Dallas Public Schools.

Desegregation Policies and Practices

In addition to questions dealing with part-time desegregation arrangements, respondents were asked to give their opinions regarding policy issues and practices involving the implementation of desegregation programs. These issues and practices were described in the following eight items on which respondents were requested to circle the response that best represented their opinions:

A significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues.

Staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations.

Students should be grouped in small groups with some deliberate racial balancing.

The school should provide programs to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

The school should provide transportation to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

Instructional activities should be designed specifically to foster interracial cooperation.

The staff should have special expertise to recognize and respond to different learning styles of students.

Mean Scores and Differences Between Dallas and Non-Dallas Respondents Familiar with Part-Time
• Desegregation at the Secondary Level

	GROUPS		K-S; p*
	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time secondary desegregation, Dallas respondents. (N=71) X	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time secondary desegregation, non-Dallas respondents. (N=32) X	
1. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.27	2.47	.33;1
2. For purposes of providing interracial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.03	2.16	.26;1
3. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.43	2.91	1.28;.08
4. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.87	3.27	1.38;.05
5. For purposes of providing interracial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.	3.65	3.18	.85;.47

*The K-S value before the semi-colon is the Kilmogorov-Smirnov value; the number after the semi-colon is the two-tailed probability that the two groups do not differ in mean scores.

**Mean Scores and Differences Between Dallas and Non-Dallas Respondents Familiar with Part-Time
Desegregation at the Secondary Level**

	GROUPS		K-S;p*
	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time secondary desegregation, Dallas respondents. (N=71) X	A great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time secondary desegregation, non-Dallas respondents. (N=32) X	
1. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements which place students in desegregated classes can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements.	2.46	2.75	.67;.76
2. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students.	2.22	2.42	.34;1
3. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.53	3.21	.98;.29
4. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving less than three consecutive weeks can be of substantial benefit to students.	3.83	3.59	.77;.60
5. For purposes of providing inter-racial contact, part-time arrangements involving one full day each week for a semester or an academic benefit to students.	3.79	3.41	.83;.49

*(See Page one)

Response categories for these items were "very important," "important," "of little importance," and "not important," with "very important" scored as one and "not important" scored as four.

The nine items described above were repeated twice on the questionnaire, once with reference to elementary schools and once with reference to secondary schools. The first step in our analysis was to compare responses to the items dealing with elementary education with the equivalent items dealing with secondary education. Chi-square tests indicated that for four of the sets of items the distribution of responses for the elementary level was significantly different at the .05 level from the distribution for the secondary level, and on two sets the probability of a difference was between .05 and .10. Therefore we will provide a separate analysis of the two sets of responses.

Elementary level. Mean scores, standard deviations, and totals by response category for the first eight items dealing with elementary education are shown in Table 8. The six items with the lowest mean scores (i.e. rated most important) are as follows:

Staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations.

Students should be grouped in small groups with some deliberate racial balancing.

The school should provide programs to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

The school should provide transportation to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

Instructional activities should be designed specifically to foster interracial cooperation.

The staff should have special expertise to recognize and respond to different learning styles of students.

Among these policies and practices, the two viewed as most important were that staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations and that staff should have special expertise to recognize and respond to different learning styles of students. Hardly any of the respondents viewed these policies as

**Mean Scores, Standard Deviations, and Responses by Category for Items Dealing with Policies
and Practices in the Implementation of Desegregation Programs, by Level**

	Elementary								Secondary							
	X	SD	N	No. By Response Category*				X	SD	N	No. by Response Categor					
1. A significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues.	2.46	.85	66	8	27	24	7	2.54	.76	138	11	52	64	11		
2. Staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations.	1.69	.77	70	32	31	4	3	1.80	.82	137	57	50	19	5		
3. Students should be grouped in small groups with some deliberate racial balancing.	2.08	.84	67	16	35	11	5	2.27	.89	135	26	61	34	14		
4. There should be frequent intensive overnight experiences like a camping weekend.	2.77	.93	68	5	24	21	18	2.87	.86	135	4	47	46	38		
5. The school should provide programs to facilitate inter-racial participation in extracurricular activities.	1.94	.73	68	26	44	4	4	1.79	.78	136	51	69	9	7		
6. The school should provide transportation to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.	2.03	.86	68	17	39	5	7	1.95	.87	137	44	67	15	11		
7. Instructional activities should be designed specifically to foster interracial cooperation.	2.01	.89	66	20	30	11	5	2.17	.86	136	30	63	33	10		
8. The staff should have special expertise to recognize and to respond to different learning styles of students.	1.51	.70	67	39	24	2	2	1.51	.84	136	84	43	4	4		

1=Very Important; 2=Important; 3=Of Little Importance; 4=Not Important

0 51

having little or no importance.

By way of contrast, reactions were mixed on the items stating that "a significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues" and that "There should be frequent intensive overnight experiences like a camping weekend." On the latter item, more respondents circled the "little" and "no importance" response categories than selected the "very important" or "important" categories.

Responses to items dealing with the secondary level also are shown in Table 8. Although chi-squared tests had shown some significant differences between items for the elementary and secondary levels, the patterns of responses to the two sets of items are very similar. As in the case of the elementary items, respondents generally assigned considerable importance to the six policies and practices described above, with highest importance assigned to having a staff experienced in multi-racial teaching situations and responsive to different student learning styles. Considerable importance also was attached to providing programs to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities, while relatively little importance was assigned curriculum material dealing with racial and ethnic issues and to frequent intensive overnight experiences. Thus our respondents generally endorsed the importance of staff qualities and student contact in implementing desegregation at both the elementary and secondary levels, but they assigned less importance to curriculum materials dealing with racial and ethnic issues and to intensive overnight experiences than to other policies and practices involving the implementation of desegregation.

As in the case of items dealing with the benefits of part-time desegregation, we also compared the answers of respondents who reported greater and lesser personal contact with and knowledge of desegregated programs to determine whether their responses differed with respect to policies and practices in implementing desegregation. These comparisons were carried out separately for

the elementary and secondary levels and included the classification by familiarity with desegregation reported in Table 2. Of the 64 comparisons in this part of our analysis using the Kilmogorov-Smirnov test for differences in ordinal responses among two groups, only two showed statistically significant differences at the .05 level. Since one would expect to find several significant differences due to chance in a group of 64 comparisons, we conclude that responses regarding policies and practices in the implementation of desegregation program do not differ according to previous contact with or knowledge of desegregated programs.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF CONCLUSIONS

1. Respondents were slightly more positive than negative in their views on whether "half-day arrangements can be of substantial benefit to students" at the elementary level. Their views were more negative than positive on arrangements involving: "three or four consecutive weeks during the academic year," "less than three consecutive weeks;" and "one full day each week for a semester or an academic year."

2. There were no differences between respondents who: a) had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with full-time elementary desegregation compared with those who had little or no contact; b) had a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time elementary desegregation compared with those who had little or no contact; and c) had a great deal or a fair amount of indirect knowledge of desegregated elementary education compared with those who had little or no indirect knowledge. However, the number of respondents who had either a great deal or a fair amount of personal contact with part-time desegregated elementary education was very small (N=10); for this reason, our analysis may have failed to uncover underlying differences that may exist in attitudes of educators with differing amounts of contact with part-time desegregation at the elementary level.

3. There were no differences between respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time, desegregated, elementary education compared with those who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time desegregation. However, the groups constituted for this set of comparisons were small in number.

4. Respondents tended to be positive in their views on whether half-day arrangements at the secondary level can be of substantial benefit to students and whether these arrangements can be nearly as effective as full-day arrangements. This was true both for improving interracial contact and improving instructional opportunities for minority students. Like responses regarding desegregated elementary education, responses regarding other types of part-time arrangements at the secondary level were neutral to negative.

5. There were no differences between respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with full-time, desegregated secondary education compared with respondents who had little or no contact.

6. Respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with part-time desegregated secondary education had more positive views about half-day arrangements than respondents who had little or no contact. This was true both for improving interracial contact and for improving instructional opportunities for minority students. The two groups did not differ on the remaining three items dealing with other types of part-time arrangements.

7. Respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact with both full-time and part-time, desegregated secondary education were much more positive about the value of half-day arrangements than were respondents who had a great deal or a fair amount of contact only with full-time, desegregated secondary education.

8. Conclusions regarding half-day arrangements at the secondary level were not inordinately influenced by the fact that many of our respondents were from the Dallas Public Schools.

9. At both the elementary and secondary levels respondents attached considerable importance to policies and practices described in the following statements:

Staff should be experienced in multi-racial teaching situations.

Students should be grouped in small groups with more deliberate racial balancing.

The school should provide programs to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

The school should provide transportation to facilitate interracial participation in extracurricular activities.

Instructional activities should be designed specifically to foster interracial cooperation.

The staff should have special expertise to recognize and to respond to different learning styles of students.

10. On the other hand, respondents tended to disagree with the following statements:

A significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues.

There should be frequent intensive overnight experiences like a camping weekend.

11. Respondents did not differ in their reactions to these statements according to their personal contact or familiarity with desegregation.

Probably the most important of our findings is the conclusion that respondents tended to be positive about half-day arrangements for school desegregation. This viewpoint was particularly true regarding attitudes toward secondary education of respondents who have had previous personal contact with both full-time and part-time desegregation at the secondary level. Favorable attitudes regarding half-day arrangements for desegregation did not mean that

a respondent rejected or did not prefer full-time desegregation. In a number of cases respondents provided answers to the "comments" part of our questionnaire that either supported or did not in any way reject full-time desegregation but also indicated support for half-day arrangements. Illustrative comments along these lines were as follows:

1. Full-time programs are desirable but our half-day programs have been extremely successful. I can't respond regarding less than one half-day for one semester.
2. My school is a half-day desegregated magnet. The other half of the day students attend their home area high school for academics. It works great.
3. Any contact can be of some benefit. For instructional opportunities, at least half days on a permanent daily basis is necessary.
4. Half-day arrangements can be beneficial, but it must be for an extended period of time.

Some other respondents indicated a degree of support for part-time desegregation on either a half-day or other basis, but respondents in this group frequently added comments suggesting that the nature and implementation of a part-time program determines whether it has value in attaining specific educational goals. Responses illustrating this type of reaction were as follows:

1. If you are talking about pairing two schools and desegregating them on a part-time basis, this I feel would be totally a waste of time. If, however, you are talking about part-time desegregation on a neutral campus, particularly a magnet school setting, my answer would be to agree this can be of substantial benefit.
2. All of the above (items inquiring about benefits of part-time arrangements for improving instructional opportunity for minority students) depends very much on the students you are speaking about and the environment they are arriving from.
3. Benefits would depend more on the nature of the program than on the type of arrangements.
4. Interracial contact in a part-time situation often means that students stay within their racial groups. They arrive together in cluster studies, and have minimal contact with others. Part-time programs in career education are valuable in increasing instructional opportunity. I think any real improvement of opportunity only happens in a permanent situation of one year or more.

5. Our experience has shown that part-time programs of one day a week for a semester are extremely effective.

6. I hate to answer this way but part-time students and full-time students appear to benefit equally in our situation. But I wouldn't want to generalize more than that at this point.

7. Students like to be with their neighborhood friends and partake in local activities. They are most eager, however, to take advantage of educational and vocational opportunities offered on a part-time basis.

8. Part-time integration is very beneficial but integration must be a full-time commitment on the part of teachers and students.

9. I would imagine that any part-time program could be beneficial in just breaking down barriers, boundaries, and taboos. Even part-time familiarity can serve to answer questions and doubts. The initial step of any breakthrough is often a small and slow one.

On the other hand, some of our respondents were clearly negative about half-day or other part-time arrangements for desegregation. Representative comments providing reasons for this response were as follows:

1. Any part-time arrangement might be more harmful than beneficial.
2. What can piece-meal desegregation achieve but further imbalance of equality?
3. Because desegregation is hard to impose upon secondary students already set in their ways, the full-time situation is more adequate. Desegregation needs time to be effective.
4. Part-time arrangements do not provide enough time. Change in attitudes and knowledge is slow and takes exposure and knowing over time, not a day or week here or there.
5. Exposing disadvantaged children to other educational opportunities can be effective from the more secure position of full-time schooling. Children learn more easily from a stable environment.
6. I have found that part-time students have a difficult time becoming a part of two schools. Coupled with desegregation this seems to be too much of a stress for most students. However, on a full-time basis it has worked very well.
7. Kids need a lot of "greenhouse" time to bring them along.
8. It seems to me that less than full-time arrangements would be totally counterproductive to the purposes of desegregation.

9. Part-time programs are inherently detrimental to the educational quality of a student's experience.

10. Part-time desegregation is an artificial way to accomodate, and hampers sound interpersonal relationships, which are essential to eliminate racial basis.

However, it should be noted that four of the ten respondents quoted above indicated they had not had personal contact with part-time desegregation. This pattern is compatible with our finding that previous contact with part-time desegregation is associated with support for half-day arrangements at the secondary level.

A second finding we wish to draw particular attention to in concluding this paper involved our respondents' tendency to reject the statement that "A significant proportion of the curriculum material should deal with racial and ethnic issues." The possible importance of including material dealing with racial and ethnic issues in the curriculum of desegregated schools has been emphasized frequently by writers on public-school desegregation. However, at least one study has concluded that explicit attention to racial and ethnic issues can be damaging rather than beneficial. This was the TDR study of part-time magnet programs in Massachusetts, which concluded that

Home school teachers felt that program attention to racial integration or multi-cultural education caused more problems than benefits. Many teachers felt that attention to integration can draw excessive concern.⁹

Several of our respondents provided comments that rejected or de-emphasized the importance of dealing with racial and ethnic issues directly in the curriculum. Some of the statements which rejected this approach as being very important were as follows:

The curriculum need not deal with these issues. Find a mutual interest such as outdoor, science, etc., and let racial, ethnic matters take care of themselves. I have found that if a program is well-structured

⁹ George B. Thomas and Charles B. McMillan, op. cit., p. 143.

and interesting, racial tensions are forgotten. I think a subject matter of mutual interest is most important. Racial and ethnic issues should be handled subtly.

I have found that too much emphasis on 'getting them together' can be detrimental to one's efforts. The students seem to be able to work their relationships out among themselves with a minimum of guidance from the faculty, although a direct, no-nonsense approach to problem areas is a must.

The most important things are atmosphere, a spirit of acceptance, feeling comfortable, ability to accept oneself and others, flexibility, lack of need to prove 'macho,' and freedom from adult pushing.

Undoubtedly, there is a need to incorporate some curriculum material on racial and ethnic issues in many or all desegregated programs. One should also recognize that there is more of a need to incorporate material on racial and ethnic issues in some subjects such as social studies than in others such as mathematics or chemistry, and that programs to do this must be implemented effectively or they may well seem like a waste of time. The responses to our questionnaire do suggest, however, that incorporation of such materials should be done carefully, and that research is needed to clarify the circumstances in which it may be more or less important to deal with such issues in the curriculum of a desegregated school or program.

II. MAGNET SCHOOLS IN URBAN REDEVELOPMENT

The second part of the project consisted of an exploratory study to examine the role of magnet schools which have been making a positive contribution to the redevelopment of big city neighborhoods. This aspect of the functioning of big city magnet schools has been one of the most neglected themes during the development of the magnet school movement in the 1970's. Levine and Campbell summarized the situation with respect to magnet schools and urban redevelopment in 1977 as follows:

It is possible that magnet schools may play a vital role in the redevelopment of the inner city and in the conservation of racially and economically mixed neighborhoods by offering the superior opportunities for schooling needed to retain middle-class families in the central city. In Houston, school officials believe that their magnet program has helped encourage movement of young middle-class families into several deteriorated neighborhoods where older but structurally sound houses are now being restored. In Cincinnati, the magnet programs may be contributing to stability in attractive renewal neighborhoods such as the Walnut Hill neighborhood. . . . But the generalization that magnet schools may play a major part in city planning cannot be viewed as an established fact in any city.¹

Our interest in the possibility that magnet schools may play an important part in urban redevelopment originates largely from their potential for attracting middle-class parents. Magnet schools may help make it possible to attract or retain middle-class parents, whether nonminority or minority, in big city neighborhoods which are becoming or have become predominantly working class and low income. One of the most serious problems in big

¹Daniel U. Levine and Connie Campbell, "Developing and Implementing Big-City Magnet School Programs" in Daniel U. Levine and Robert J. Havighurst (eds.), The Future of Big-City Schools. Berkeley, California: McCutchan, 1977, p. 263.

cities and their public schools is that middle class residents have moved to the suburbs and/or withdrawn their children from the public schools; as this happened, a large percentage of the neighborhoods in most big cities have become "concentrated poverty" neighborhoods in which schools, law enforcement agencies, family service organizations, health care agencies, and other social institutions have ceased to function effectively.² Dysfunctioning of these institutions has helped lock the children of lower working class parents into a cycle of social disorganization in which poverty is transmitted from one generation to the next. Much of this process and the role of the public schools in causing and perpetuating it has been described by U. S. Representative Henry Reuss as follows:

..... Polish-Americans in the 1920s were characterized as alienated, disorganized, and unredeemable because of inherent social pathology. Yet time--and jobs that brought steady income--transformed the slum dwellers into prosperous citizens. Looking back, they had the good fortune to achieve their transformation before reformers could expose them to what Greeley called 'dependency-producing welfare legislation.'

The urban poor of the post-World War II era have not, by and large, followed the path of the Poles, or of the Italians, or of the Irish before them. They have been caught up instead in a system that entraps them in their own poverty. Too few see successes among friends and family to gain the firm conviction that they too, by working hard, might realize the American dream.

Welfare programs, instead of freeing the urban newcomers so they 'make it' in a fluid society, created a new phenomenon: a welfare way of life. At the same time, the blacks among the urban poor faced severe prejudice. The flight of middle class whites broke up the old neighborhoods before the new residents could develop solid neighborhoods of their own.

Here were all the ingredients for generating crime--the lack of neighborhood cohesion, the absence of hope for the

²Robert J. Havighurst and Daniel U. Levine, Society and Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1979, pp. 208-219.

future, the debilitating effects of relief, the low level of job opportunities, and poverty encircled, both geographically and culturally, by affluence.

The decline of safety, the faltering quality of schools, and the loss of property values in black or Chicano poverty areas confirm racist stereotypes among whites who forget their own up-from-poverty histories. But neither whites nor blacks nor the cities they inhabit can look to the future with optimism unless they come to grips with the dynamics of neighborhoods and the fears, legitimate and otherwise, that obstruct neighborhood rejuvenation.

Public schools, once the pride of cities and a chief mechanism for transmitting hope and ambition to each new generation, have lost momentum. Many school systems have deteriorated badly. . . .³

Representative Reuss proceeded to outline some of the changes required to improve conditions in deteriorating and deteriorated neighborhoods in the cities. Among the changes he cited are improvement in governmental housing programs for the poor, effective community development programming through city government, and tax policies to encourage the preservation of neighborhoods. One aspect of development which Reuss and others have assigned special emphasis involves efforts to retain and/or attract middle class residents so that problems associated with concentrated poverty and/or a declining tax base can be reduced or eliminated. Most observers such as Reuss believe that constructive urban redevelopment requires a mixture of economic and social groups and that it thus is necessary to make big city neighborhoods attractive to all groups of citizens including the middle class:

³ Congressional Record - House, October 12, 1978, p. H12767.

If we are to be true to the vision of a multi-racial, economically diverse, vibrant city, we must make in-town living attractive to the affluent and the middle class. Their return heralds a rejuvenation of the housing stock, a necessary shot-in-the-arm to an eroding tax base, and an energetic nucleus who are willing and able to 'fight City Hall' when public services are inadequate.

There is growing evidence that at least parts of many of our older central cities are undergoing a revival. Many old but structurally sound buildings are being rehabilitated. Middle- and higher-income people--mostly young couples and single individuals without children--are moving into older neighborhoods formerly written off as dead or dying. This restoration is visible, for example, in the South End in Boston, Park Slope in Brooklyn, Queens Village in Philadelphia, or Adams-Morgan and Capitol Hill in Washington, and has been achieved largely without government plan, subsidy, or intervention. I have always believed that there are things the government should and should not do. Here we have a clear-cut case of something working well without government interference. We should leave well enough alone.

The return of the middle class, however, carries with it the specter of displacement of the poor from their homes. Ideally, cities would insure that decent alternative homes at affordable costs are made available to the displaced in cadence with the rehabilitation. The satellite communities of metropolitan areas and the States should assume some of this responsibility, since many of the displaced will want to live in the older and closer-in suburbs. Displacement would not be so traumatic if there were an abundance of decent housing and good neighborhoods offering viable options to poorer families.

Moreover, when rehabilitation becomes a citywide phenomenon, rather than a feature of a few select neighborhoods, there will be less pressure by the affluent on any single area. Relative stability, with a wholesome mix of income groups should not be overlooked as a long-term goal for urban neighborhoods.

.....
The realization of the ideal that 'all men are created equal' has been long in coming. Yet, in the newly redeveloping neighborhoods of many cities, we are beginning to witness large-scale voluntary integration. The young and the affluent, often white, are quietly integrating previously all-black areas. We find significant integration in a great

many middle-class in-town apartments. Unaccompanied by outcry or tension, the phenomenon has occurred unheralded and almost unnoted--a true indication that we are, at last, beginning to approach the ideal of a color-blind society.⁴

The severe problems which cities confront in trying to improve conditions for the inhabitants of concentrated poverty neighborhoods can be observed in neighborhoods where city government, the schools, and other agencies have spent large sums of money that have had little positive impact in the face of extreme social disorganization. In the absence of a mixed-class population base, large-scale efforts to improve the schools and other institutions frequently make little long-range difference because underlying social forces operate to limit their efficiency and effectiveness. This phenomenon can be seen, for example, in Chicago, where writers for Minority News Digest recently summarized the discouraging results of efforts to redevelop the East Humboldt Park neighborhood as follows:

Since 1970, over \$75 million has been invested in the heart of Chicago's Puerto Rican community east of Humboldt Park, giving residents the \$43 million ultra-modern St. Mary's Hospital, the \$30 million Roberto Clemente High School, a \$1.1 city health clinic, a \$700,000 Board of Education child-parent center and a \$750,000 fire station. Yet, unless something is done to stem the tide of housing destruction, East Humboldt Park, as a residential neighborhood, is doomed to die in the next 15 years, leaving only the new institutional structures standing, according to observations of the Chicago Reporter. For nearly the last decade, the Reporter found a continuing wave of arson, abandonment, vandalism and demolitions has destroyed about one-third of the area's housing, and practically no government or private money has been invested to replace the demolished structures or salvage those still standing.⁵

⁴ Ibid., p. H12769.

⁵ Minority News Digest, v. 3 (no. 2), February 12, 1979, p. 5.

The example of Roberto Clemente High School illustrates the pitfalls that face big city school districts which attempt to provide improved facilities and programs for students in concentrated poverty neighborhoods. Because schools and neighborhoods with a high proportion of poverty students do not seem to function effectively, efforts to improve education for poverty students should include components designed to retain or attract non-poverty students and thereby reduce the number of students attending predominantly working class schools.

In addition, efforts to retain or attract middle class populations in big city schools and neighborhoods have an interacting effect. Maintaining the attractiveness of neighborhoods can help in maintaining or establishing an attractive public school and help make a neighborhood attractive to middle class families with children. This latter effect has been emphasized by Paul R. Porter, formerly administrator of the Marshall Plan, who has pointed out that the slowing down of in-migration to the cities presents "a superb opportunity" for renewal, but only if emphasis is placed on the goal of transforming "the decaying districts into new neighborhoods attractive enough to compete with suburbs as a place of residence for people who work in the central business district." He adds that "nothing is more important" for attaining this goal than that the "city's schools should be as of high quality as suburban schools."⁶ Similarly, Deputy Mayor James Young of Boston has said that "The quality of education in the central cities is per-

⁶ Paul R. Porter, The Recovery of American Cities. New York: Two Continents, 1976, p. 14.

haps the single most important factor when people choose where to live. Middle class people with children find that the urban school systems do not meet their requirements."⁷ Political scientist William G. Colman has made essentially the same point in arguing that the renewal and economic-mixture goals of the cities require an emphasis on providing school programs which are attractive to middle-status families with children:

Until central city schools become as good as or somewhat better than, suburban schools, few middle and higher income families with school-age children will remain in the city, particularly if the public school servicing their neighborhood is attended by children who are all or mostly from low income families. Since income of parent is the major predictor of school achievement, this is just another way of saying that until inner city school populations represent a mix of incomes they cannot hope to compare favorably with suburban schools. Even so, however, to the extent . . . it becomes known that the quality of instruction and the learning environment in these schools are especially good, people with school-age children may not move out of the cities so quickly. Undoubtedly, the public school is a major, if not the dominant factor, in restoring a socioeconomic balance in central cities.⁸

Evidence regarding the importance of public schools in maintaining a mixed class population has been provided by a 1978 report of a 33-month study of U. S. neighborhood conducted at the Harvard--MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies. Richard P. Coleman summarized one of the major conclusions of the study as follows:

The clearest message from tomorrow's neighborhood choices of our 900 respondents is 'not in the city.' To get away from the city means getting away from aging structures, smaller lots, 'creeping blight,' spreading

⁷Quoted in Urban America. Policies and Problems. Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1978, p. 8.

⁸William G. Colman, "Schools, Housing, Jobs, Transportation: Interlocking Metropolitan Problems," in Ronald D. Henderson and Mary von Euler (eds.), School Desegregation: Choices and Prospects. Washington, D. C.: National Institute of Education, 1977, pp. 27-41.

commerce, spiralling crime rates . . . all those things and one other: schools that worry parents. Central-city schools worry parents educationally and physically. The schools are a worry educationally, whether it is white parents we are talking about or black parents or Spanish minority parents, because all believe 'the schools aren't teaching the kids very well.'⁹

As mentioned above, during the 1970s many big cities began to establish magnet schools which may make the public schools more attractive to their clients, particularly middle class families, but little is known concerning the possibility that such schools can be a primary force to aid in constructive urban development. To explore this issue, the present study examined conditions and characteristics at several schools which we believe might meet this description.

Procedure

The first step in the study was to identify big city magnet schools which may be making an important contribution to neighborhood development or redevelopment. Current literature on urban affairs was reviewed and contact persons in other cities were asked to nominate schools which may be achieving this goal. After a nomination was obtained, telephone calls were made to knowledgeable school officials or other persons familiar with local school and neighborhood conditions in order to obtain further information on the situation. If it appeared that the school in question really might be having a systematic positive impact on neighborhood development, a site visit was made to obtain additional information and verification concerning whether or how this impact was being achieved.

⁹Richard P. Coleman, Attitudes Toward Neighborhoods: How Americans Choose to Live. Cambridge, Mass.: Joint Center for Urban Studies Working Paper No. 49, p. 52.

Site visits were made to individual schools and district offices in Chicago, Cincinnati, Dallas, Kansas City, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and St. Paul. The majority of these visits did not provide any kind of verification that the schools visited or inquired about presently have a substantial impact in terms of contributing positively to urban development. While the schools visited or discussed appeared without exception to be outstanding public schools, in most cases there was little or no evidence--not even anecdotal--to indicate that they were significantly influencing urban development. This was true even in several cases in which we examined schools located in or near poverty areas that were drawing sizable numbers of students from other neighborhoods.

However, these efforts to find magnet schools that were positively influencing urban development did result in the identification of three schools that either appeared to be having such an impact or had high potential for constructively influencing neighborhood or city development in the future. These three schools are: (1) the Webster Magnet School in St. Paul, Minnesota; (2) the Dearborn Park School in Chicago; and (3) the Westport Community School in Kansas City, Missouri. These schools and the neighborhoods in which they are located are described in the following pages.

The Webster Magnet School in St. Paul

The Webster Elementary Magnet School in St. Paul, Minnesota is a K-6 school located in a large redeveloping neighborhood near the downtown area. Slum clearance and housing rehabilitation have been taking place on some blocks for a number of years, and some new housing has been built using various forms of government subsidy and support. On the whole, the neighbor-

hood remains one of the most dilapidated in the city, in line with its former reputation as the roughest and most socially disorganized section of St. Paul, but the worst housing has been torn down, low-income families in the neighborhood have a safer and more stable environment than before, and middle-class residents are now restoring many of its fine, old homes.

Coincidental with this process of urban redevelopment, Webster has become a very different school than it was. In 1975, St. Paul school officials designated Webster to be a desegregated magnet school as part of the overall plan for the desegregation of the district. By that time, enrollment had declined to 362, 74 percent minority. The great majority of these pupils were economically disadvantaged, the neighborhood was considered so unsafe that students were allowed to ride a bus only a few blocks to school, and there was a question whether Webster could retain any middle-class or non-minority students. There is no doubt that Webster was a typical inner city school which would have trouble retaining children of local residents, much less attracting students from other neighborhoods.

Planning for the magnetization of Webster was aided to a considerable degree by citizens representing a cluster of eleven elementary schools formed as part of the school district's efforts to involve the community in planning for desegregation. Suggestions for the magnet program and desegregation at Webster and other cluster schools were made at a series of public meetings and neighborhood discussions, with an initial year of planning allowed to develop and implement these ideas.¹⁰

¹⁰Gordon J. Cherveney and Dale A. Srigley, "Parental Reasons for Selecting the Webster Magnet School Program, A Descriptive Study." Education Specialist Thesis, College of St. Thomas, July, 1972, p. 22.

Webster became a magnet school during the 1975-1976 school year and increased its enrollment to 622, 46 percent minority. After a \$600,000 addition to the building was opened, enrollment increased to 975 in 1978-1979, with minority students constituting 34 percent of the student body and 575 pupils voluntarily bused in. (The longest bus ride for any child is 25 minutes.) Thus, Webster clearly has succeeded in attracting a large number of nonminority students into the inner city in St. Paul during an era when enrollment in the public school system has been steadily declining. In the process of doing this, additional space also has been made available for more minority students who transfer in to take advantage of the special opportunities available at Webster.

According to Principal Warren Panushka and Erma E. McGuire, Assistant Superintendent for Elementary Education, the main attraction for parents sending their children to Webster is the school's outstanding instructional program. Major institutional characteristics of Webster include the following:

- A split-day schedule called the Dual Progress Plan, according to which approximately one-half of a student's day is devoted entirely to basic skills instruction and the other half is spent in application of skills. Basic skills instruction in reading and mathematics is provided by assigning students into "accelerated," "mainstream," and "alternative" (significantly below normal achievement range) groups, with great efforts made to avoid racial segregation within this grouping. The applied skills part of the program allows for a variety of enrichment activities building on the particular learning interests and requests of

students. Thus, the overall program can be equally attractive both to parents who want something they call "the basics" stressed for their children and for those whose greatest stress is something they refer to as "openness" or "humaneness." Subjects which have been taught in mini-courses as part of the applied skills program include: Arts and Crafts; Heritage - Many Lands and People; Ceramics; Photography; Creative Writing; Classical Literature; Children's Theater; Performing Arts; Creative Drama; Dance; Vocal Music; Instrumental Music; Spanish; French; Computer Logic; Typing; Business; and Environmental Science.

- The remodelled old building and the newly-constructed addition provide an outstanding facility for learning, including several carefully-planned laboratories which not only are excellent resources to enrich learning, but also serve as a physical demonstration to show parents that much more is available at Webster than at the typical elementary school in St. Paul or other school districts. For example, the Media Center is equipped so that students can learn cartooning, motion picture production, still photography, television taping, puppetry, and dramatics. Similarly, students in the Power Lab tear down and reassemble small gasoline engines, construct radios and operate a ham station, and participate in aerospace studies including fundamentals of flight, simulated flying, and field work at a military airbase. Students in the Biology Lab study and care for animals loaned from the State Zoological Gardens and go on camping trips, while students in the Business Center are introduced to business machines and office procedures and also operate the school store.

- Class size at Webster is smaller than at most other elementary schools in St. Paul.

- Resources for meeting students' special learning needs include a Project Read program, tutoring services, a Talking Typewriter project, a physical therapist, after-school study facilities, and early childhood day-care arrangements.

- Outstanding leadership in planning, organizing, and administering the school. It is obvious that a program with Webster's variety and distinctiveness depends on unusual leadership from the principal and other St. Paul administrators and an outstanding staff of vigorous teachers. These resources are clearly in evidence at Webster and constitute an important factor that favorably impresses parents willing to consider sending their children to the school.

- A systematic, thorough, relatively low-key effort has been made to assure nonminority parents and middle-status parents that Webster has effective security arrangements. For example, the glossy brochure describing Webster's program includes the following paragraphs under the block heading "PUPIL SAFETY AND DISCIPLINE":

PUBLIC SAFETY, MANAGEMENT and DISCIPLINE is an issue of high priority. School policy mandates adult supervision of pupil groups at all times, excluding lavatory use and emergencies.

THREE HOME-SCHOOL LIAISON WORKERS will function in and about the school seeking to identify, prevent and remedy pupil problems.

The FULL-TIME SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKER works closely with teachers and pupils in the classroom seeking to identify potential and on-going problems for the purpose of preventing and alleviating them. The SOCIAL WORKER communicates directly with parents and other agencies for the benefit and improvement of pupil academic achievement.

An active PUPIL PERSONNEL PROBLEMS COMMITTEE meets weekly to monitor pupil management, pupil problems and to devise plans for improvement of pupil behavior, individually and in groups. The principal, social worker, home-school liaison workers, nurse and several teachers comprise this committee.

Concern has been given to younger pupils becoming 'perceptually lost' in the complex of buildings that will house the Magnet Program. For this reason primary pupils will be located in the Webster building and intermediate pupils will be located in the Marshall building for academic instruction.

The gain in enrollment from 362 in 1975 to 975 in 1979 shows that Webster has functioned successfully to attract new students but it is not possible to be sure that Webster has served as an important stimulus to neighborhood development. Nor is it possible to prove that neighborhood redevelopment would not have occurred on the scale it has without an attractive public elementary school in the community. Many old homes are being rehabilitated in the Summit-University neighborhood in which Webster is located, and new businesses such as a Control Data Corporation plant are beginning to locate in the community, but these developments had begun to emerge even before Webster became an attractive magnet school.

However, community leaders and St. Paul school officials with whom we talked during our visit to Webster felt that the school had played an important part in encouraging redevelopment of the neighborhood, and that redevelopment would not have occurred as rapidly or intensively if Webster had not become an attractive school. City planning agencies, private developers, neighborhood organizations, and other non-school agencies were primarily responsible for redevelopment of the Summit-University neighborhood,

but the availability of attractive instructional opportunities at Webster did help persuade some of the new residents to purchase deteriorated housing in the community and then invest substantial financial and other resources to rehabilitate their homes.

This perception of Webster's effectiveness in contributing to urban redevelopment raises the question of whether one can identify the attributes which made this formerly low status school attractive to middle class parents. As a rule, middle class parents refuse to send their children to predominantly low status schools but Webster succeeded in attracting middle class students both from outside and within its original attendance zone. We have described above some of the program characteristics which seem to have been responsible for Webster's success in attracting new clients, but we cannot be sure which characteristics, if any, were more important than others. However, our discussion with educators and community leaders in St. Paul suggested that the following considerations have been particularly important in attracting middle class students:

- The split-day schedule providing for a half-day emphasis on basic skills and a half-day emphasis on application of skills (enrichment) seems to have provided a happy solution to problems frequently encountered in designing or offering instructional programs in accordance with the preferences of parents and students. Many parents prefer or demand a "child-centered" program with emphasis on enrichment, independent inquiry, and individualization, while others strongly prefer an emphasis on "basic skills" development in a traditional setting stressing discipline and

teacher direction. Although there are many exceptions, middle class parents whose children generally have mastered basic skills tend to prefer the enrichment approach emphasizing independent inquiry, and working class parents tend to prefer an emphasis on basic skills and discipline which they feel will help their children master fundamental skills and which is compatible with the stress placed on discipline in many working class homes. Suggestions for stressing either enrichment or basic skills can and have produced intense disagreements in communities in which parents are divided on this issue for reasons involving social class, ethnic, ideological, or other differences.

By way of contrast, the split-day schedule allows the school to demonstrate in an unambiguous manner that it is committed to both basic skills and enrichment goals in education, and that emphasis on one type of goal need not require or lead to neglect of the other. Working class or other parents who prefer the basic skills emphasis can easily perceive that enrichment and independent inquiry provides for further development of basic skills in an applied setting, while middle class or other parents who prefer the enrichment emphasis can see that the half-day emphasis on basic skills is designed to make sure that each child has sufficient mastery to function successfully in the enriched setting. This latter recognition that basic skills are being emphasized for students with serious academic deficiencies can be particularly reassuring for middle class parents who worry that a mixed class school will have many students who will cause disturbances in the classroom if they receive too little help in academics. By

getting away from the either-or dichotomy which has encouraged clients to believe that the two emphases are mutually exclusive, the split-day schedule seems to make it possible to appeal legitimately and successfully to both working class and middle class families in situations where alternative approaches too frequently have generated serious divisiveness and controversy.

- The construction of a new building at a school that previously was underenrolled seems to have helped convince middle class parents that the magnet school would not be a predominantly working class school. Before 1975, a high proportion of the students at Webster were from poverty families, and there was little likelihood that many middle class parents would send their children to Webster even if it had an attractive magnet program. Addition of the new building, however, suggested to parents that there would be a "critical mass" of new students when the magnet school opened, and this perception probably helped make it possible to obtain a large enough nucleus of non-poverty students to re-open Webster as a mixed class school.

The Dearborn Park Elementary School in Chicago

A second school that has the potential to play a major role in urban community renewal is the Dearborn Park elementary school in Chicago. The Dearborn Park school will serve a neighborhood consisting of new housing constructed just south of Chicago's loop by the Chicago 21 Corporation. This project is part of a larger planning effort for twenty-first century renewal of downtown Chicago and the area surrounding it. Supported by city government and private developers, the Corporation plans to initiate redevelopment

of vacant areas close to the downtown business area. Much of the land to be developed consists of abandoned railroad yards, factories, and warehouses as well as unused land adjacent to the Chicago River, so redevelopment will not require much demolition of existing housing and neighborhoods. By building racially-integrated, middle income housing on a sizable scale within and around the downtown, the Corporation hopes to provide a stable population base to support the long-range maintenance and growth of social and economic institutions in Chicago's inner core.

One major part of the Chicago 21 plan involves redevelopment of the South Loop New Town area, which is to link up with redevelopment already accomplished further south. The area designated for the New Town includes more than four square miles south of the downtown's inner loop. Over the next few decades, the South Loop area could accommodate more than 100,000 people living in attractive new economically and racially integrated communities, without displacing the 40,000 population that now lives there. The Dearborn Park section includes approximately 51 acres which will be the first neighborhood constructed as the northern part of the New Town, just south of the historic Dearborn Railroad Station now designated and preserved as an historic landmark.

The Dearborn Park project includes two phases. The first phase will consist of 939 housing units constructed by the Dearborn Park Corporation. The first 341 units were completed in the fall of 1979, and the remainder are to be constructed during the following two years. Plans for Phase Two call for the addition of 2,000 additional units by 1983 or 1984. It is

important to emphasize that with the exception of two high-rise buildings consisting of small units for elderly residents, housing in Dearborn Park will provide two-, three-, and four-bedroom units in townhouses suitable for families with children. Hardly any housing suitable for families with children currently is being built in the central core area in Chicago or other big cities, but Dearborn Park developers believe it is important to provide accommodations for middle-income families in general and families with children in particular in order to ensure that the population of the central city includes a variety of economic, racial, and social groups in the future.

To carry out this ambitious goal, the Dearborn Park Corporation has been organized by major lending institutions as a limited dividend corporation that can pay a maximum of only 6.5 percent to investors. City government will provide the streets, sewers, and other public services needed for the new community. Thomas F. Ayers, Chairman of the Commonwealth Edison Company as well as the Dearborn Park Corporation, has described the goals of the project as follows:

The creation of a new residential neighborhood near the heart of the city which has special appeal for middle-income families will do much to help sustain the vitality of Chicago. The objective is not to maximize profit, if any, but to create a new neighborhood which will set the standard of urban living for the nation in coming generations.

The organization of the Dearborn Park Corporation on a limited-dividend basis makes it possible to construct housing that will cost significantly less than comparable housing elsewhere in Chicago. This saving, together with attractive features such as provision of green spaces within a clustered

town-house design and accessibility to the downtown business and cultural district, means that Dearborn Park should be very attractive to large numbers of potential buyers or renters. However, a project like the Dearborn Park redevelopment may not succeed in attracting many middle income families with children unless there are attractive public schools nearby. Existing public schools close to Dearborn Park serve predominantly low income neighborhoods and it is doubtful that even a handful of middle income families--whether white or black--would send their children to these schools. This in turn would mean that only those families with funds and access to expensive private schools would consider locating in Dearborn Park. Foreseeing this problem, project developers have worked closely with public school personnel, city planning staff, and other government officials and private individuals to plan a new public elementary school to serve residents of Dearborn Park.

Much of this planning has been stimulated and guided by corporation officers responsible for the overall planning and implementation of Dearborn Park, particularly Carl Bufalini, who served as first Executive Secretary, and his successor, Sheldon L. Kantoff.¹¹ Cooperation between Dearborn Park developers, public school officials, City Hall, and others working to plan the new school has been well in line with city planning guidelines for the long-range establishment of the South Loop New Town, which state under "Basic Policies" that success of the plan depends on relating "all elements and stages of the South Loop development program to applicable citywide and

¹¹ We wish to thank Mr. Bufalini and Mr. Kantoff for the cooperation and assistance they provided to us in carrying out this phase of our study.

regional policies, plans, and functional systems--such as transportation, education (*italics added*), recreation, among others--and to both existing and planned development in the Central Communities."¹²

Planning for the new school originated partly in connection with early developmental activities initiated by the Chicago 21 Corporation and the Chicago Board of Education. One early step in the planning process involved the preparation of a paper by Evans Clinchy and Elisabeth Cody of Educational Planning Associates, Inc., for the Corporation's Education Committee¹³ and the Board of Education. This paper, titled Community School Downtown, stated that "If downtown Chicago is to become a place where stable middle income families of all races and ethnic groups can live, work and educate their children, the public schools of the Central Area will have to become a living example of what a quality urban school system can and should be like."¹⁴ It proceeded to outline a "general community education system" for Central Chicago which would "use the new town in the South Loop as a basis for planning" and included as one of five components "The development and implementation in the South Loop new community of the shared construction and use of school and community facilities and programs, thus creating mixed-use,

¹²South Loop New Town. Guidelines for Development. City of Chicago Department of Development and Planning, p. 11.

¹³Committee members included Chairman Ferd Kramer of Draper and Kramer, His Eminence John Cardinal Cody of the Archdiocese of Chicago, E. Stanley Eklund of the First Federal Savings and Loan, Louis Martin of the Chicago Defender, Mrs. Carey Preston of the Chicago Board of Education, and Mrs. J. Harris Ward of Bright New City Program.

¹⁴Evans Clinchy and Elisabeth Cody, Community School Downtown. The Education Committee of the Chicago 21 Corporation and the Chicago Board of Education, Planning Paper No. IV, April 1975, p. 2.

time-shared, school/community centers instead of more costly separate facilities."¹⁵

Subsequent planning for the new school resulted in the preparation of a 1978 document titled A Final Report on Educational Program and Facility Planning for Dearborn Park. June, 1976-December, 1977. This report presented plans for an elementary school to serve an estimated 300 children who would reside in the 900+ units to be constructed in Phase One. The plan provided for a "mixed-use school/community center" to be established in the old Dearborn Station now owned by the Dearborn Park Corporation. In conjunction with elementary classrooms, the Station also would be remodeled to include ". . . in all likelihood, a day care/preschool center, community meeting rooms, and possibly a small theatre or auditorium, dining facilities, a center for the elderly, arts and crafts space, public reading and library space, recreational space and exhibit spaces for arts groups."¹⁶ Educational program and facility specifications were prepared by Dr. Margaret M. Harrigan, Superintendent of Chicago Public Schools District Seven, Thomas S. Teraji, Director of Facilities Planning for the school district, and Dr. Donn Wadley, Director of the district's Department of Program Development and Alternative Schools. Program plans for the school were described as follows: "Substantial efforts are underway to develop education programs

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁶ A Final Report on Educational Program and Facility Planning for Dearborn Park, June, 1976-December, 1977. Prepared for The Chicago Community Trust by The Chicago Central Area Research and Study Committee, Dearborn Park Corporation, Educational Planning Associates, Inc., January, 1978.

that acknowledge differences in teaching and learning styles. However, in all education programs the fundamental focus is upon learning the basic skills."¹⁷ The plan proceeded to outline arrangements very similar to those at the Webster Magnet School in St. Paul:

The education program in Dearborn Station will provide students with a morning of basic skill development, structured and sequenced by the teacher using the standard curriculum of the Board of Education. The afternoon will be structured to provide students with many opportunities to apply those skills, in the study of science and social studies.¹⁸

However, plans for the Dearborn Park Elementary School did not proceed exactly in accordance with the 1977 and 1978 planning reports. The first 341 multi-bedroom housing units constructed in Phase One were put on the market as condominium sales in the summer of 1979, and the developers found that approximately 55 percent of the first 300 purchasers who reserved units were single individuals. Of the married couples who reserved units, many did not have children in the household, and a tally at this time indicated that there were only thirty elementary-aged children in this first group of residents.

This finding meant that original plans for opening a school for several hundred children in the Dearborn Station in 1979 or 1980 no longer were feasible; it might be years before a substantial amount of space for a public school would be needed in the station. Equally important, the City Public Service Commission had put out bids for remodeling to open a 300-pupil school

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

and a recreation center for the elderly in the Station and found that the lowest bid of \$5.2 million exceeded original estimates by \$2 million. The high bids together with the low initial enrollment meant that projected per-pupil costs for the new school would far exceed normal per-pupil costs for construction of new public schools in Chicago. The Commission decided not to act on the bids, in effect dropping plans for use of the Station as a public elementary school.

Instead, Dearborn Park Corporation executive Sheldon L. Kantoff met with appropriate personnel from the Chicago Public Schools and the City Plan Commission, and worked out plans for a small school to serve the first thirty or forty students who will move into the development during the 1979-1980 school year. The new school initially will use five townhouse-units which can serve 90-100 students and will be located near the geographic center of the development. The five units will be leased to the Chicago Public Schools through a contract with a two-year reversionary clause allowing the Corporation to reclaim the units.

It should be emphasized at this point that the Dearborn Park Corporation still expects and intends to provide housing for substantial numbers of families with children. As part of an effort to recruit more families with children in the future, advertising for Dearborn Park homes has been changed to include the description "Chicago's Newest Family Neighborhood" (from "Chicago's Newest Neighborhood") as well as photographs showing children in a family setting. Development officials believe that the project's appeal to families will increase as residents move in and establish the "credibility"

of the Dearborn Park Community.¹⁹ They anticipate that the first 900 units will include approximately 100 school-age children and that Phase Two will bring in hundreds of additional students as housing construction moves into an "annual absorption" cycle (i.e., new units are filled up each year as they are completed). If this forecast is correct, elementary school facilities in Dearborn Park will need to include space for three- to four-hundred children from the development.

Dearborn Park Elementary School obviously has not yet been an important factor in urban development. The school is not scheduled to open until later in the 1979-1980 school year, and at this time (October, 1979), it is not even certain how many students will be in attendance when it does open. On the other hand, the school just as obviously does have enormous potential for contributing to the constructive development of neighborhoods near downtown Chicago. Situated as it is on a large bloc of extremely valuable land just outside the downtown, Dearborn Park Elementary School may be a key consideration in sparking the development and redevelopment of a sizable community at the heart of one of the world's largest cities.

In this context it is interesting to note that the instructional plan for Dearborn Park calls for a split-day schedule similar to that at Webster, with half the day devoted to basic skills and half to application of skills. It remains to be seen, of course, how attractive this program will prove to middle class parents who move in to the community.

¹⁹ Interview with Sheldon L. Kantoff, September 27, 1979.

After considering Dearborn Park's potential for attracting middle class residents to an area currently served by predominantly working class schools, we concluded that two aspects of the plans for the school make it possible that the school can come close to meeting its enrollment goals in the future. First, the emphasis placed on private as opposed to governmental development at Dearborn Park will provide advantages in working to attract middle class residents. Second, the developers plan to establish a relatively small school, only as large as is needed to serve the multi-racial population of the Dearborn Park community.

Private development has been stressed in all phases of the Dearborn Park project. Although the project necessarily involves close working relationships with city government and draws on government funds for some purposes such as construction of the units for the elderly, the general approach has been to avoid governmental financing wherever possible. One major advantage of this approach is that the developers have much greater flexibility and can expedite construction to a much greater degree than is true in government-funded developments that typically entail a large number of regulations and requirements. For example, had government funds been utilized, the developers would have found it difficult or impossible to switch their sales from rental to condominium units when market conditions suggested this change in the summer of 1979. Similarly, a formal decision requiring use of regular tax funds to build a new public school (rather than lease private space) for Dearborn Park could have involved years of discussion and planning, and even then it is unlikely that the Board of Education would appropriate funds for this purpose.

Another major advantage of the private development approach involves our second point dealing with the advantages of a small school for Dearborn Park. Developers of the Dearborn Park project believe, and we strongly agree, that the community needs a small facility in order to attract middle class families with children. If Dearborn Park had no school at all, parents would realize that their children would be bused to nearby schools most of which are predominantly working class, and either would not move into Dearborn Park or would send their children to private schools. If a relatively large public school was built to serve Dearborn Park, parents would realize that students would be bused in from elsewhere, possibly creating a predominantly working class school; again, many would not move to Dearborn Park or would send their children to private schools. Thus the arrangement wherein the private developers rent a relatively small amount of space to the Board of Education appears to be potentially most effective in terms of attracting middle class parents.

This conclusion raises a question concerning differences between Dearborn Park and Webster, where addition of a new building seemed to be a factor in attracting middle class parents. We believe that this difference relates to the larger community and social context in which the two schools function. In the case of Webster, availability of more space indicated a probable middle class preponderance because surrounding communities were mostly middle class and many parents in these communities were working vigorously to recruit students for Webster as part of St. Paul's desegregation plan. Dearborn Park, by way of contrast, adjoins large predominantly minority, working class areas, and Chicago is just now developing its

desegregation plan. Given the fact that some courts and government agencies have ordered school districts to have roughly the same percentage of minority students in every school, it is quite possible that Dearborn Park could open with fifty percent minority students in an entirely middle class student body, and then (if space were available) be required to increase its minority percentage to the citywide average of 80 percent in 1980. If local students numbered only 200 and space were available for 500 students, 300 working class minority students might be brought in to increase the minority percentage to eighty, thereby "swamping" the middle class population of the school. This pattern would result in a school serving sixty percent working class students. Data on big city school achievement indicate that a school with more than 35 or 40 percent working class students is a "poverty school" in the sense that achievement scores are very low. Middle class parents typically withdraw their children when they see a school becoming a poverty school. Thus the availability of a large school to serve Dearborn Park would undermine parental confidence that their children would attend a predominantly middle class school with a stably desegregated student body.

It should be noted at this point that Dearborn Park is not officially designated as a magnet school. However, it does have the characteristics we associate with big city magnet schools, namely a desegregated student body attracted to the school at least in part by an innovative educational program. In addition, there is a chance that it may be designated a magnet school in the future as part of Chicago's Access to Excellence plan for voluntary desegregation. For these reasons we feel that analysis of the situation at Dearborn Park is useful in considering the role of big city magnet schools in urban development.

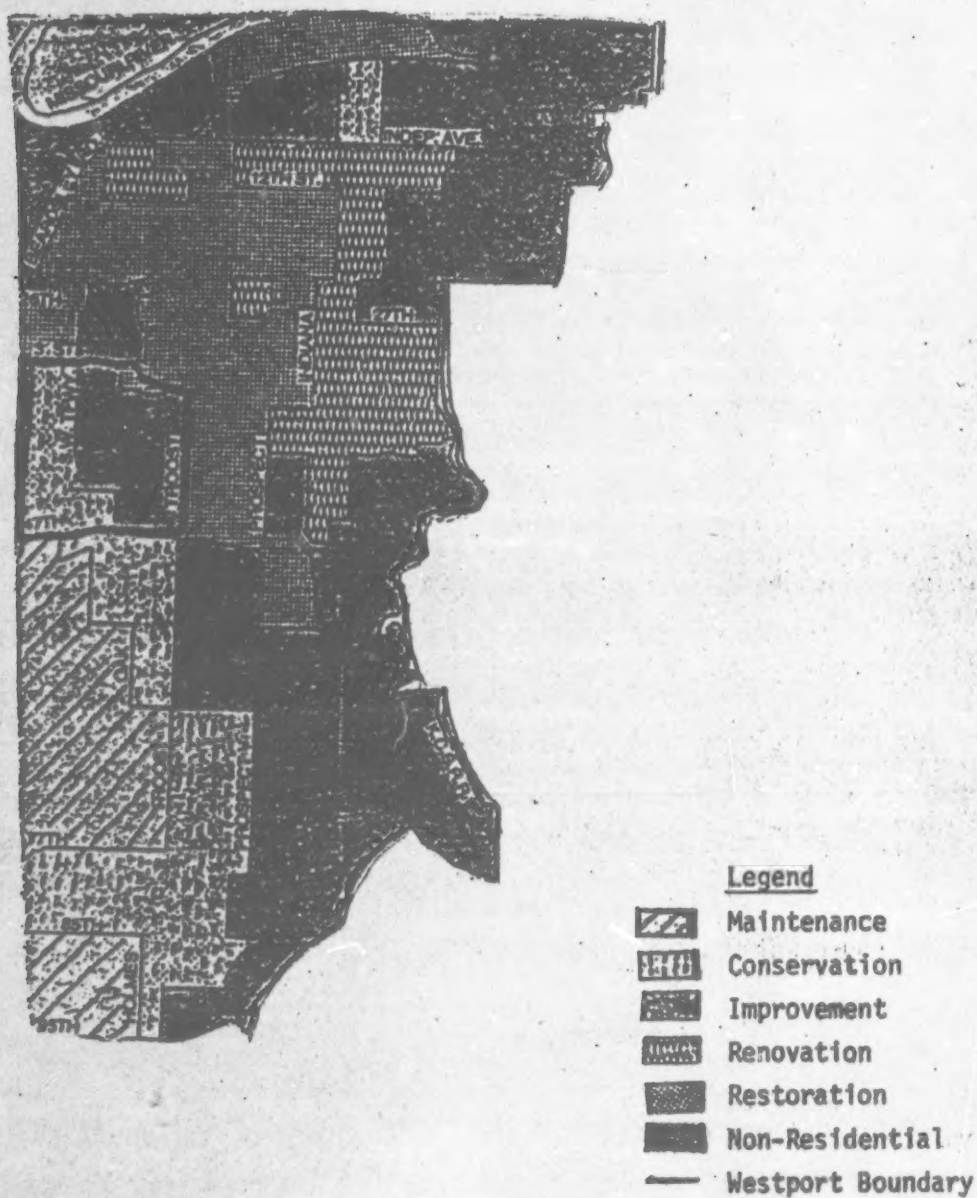
The Westport Community School in Kansas City, Missouri

The Westport Community School is made up of two elementary schools: Swinney Elementary School, which includes kindergarten and grades one through four, and Volker Elementary School, which includes kindergarten and grades five and six. Both schools serve neighborhoods in the Westport Community (city planning area) of Kansas City, Missouri. The two schools were "paired" to serve this attendance area as part of the Kansas City School District (KCSD) desegregation plan introduced in 1977.

The Westport Community is a key neighborhood in efforts to conserve or revitalize the central core area in Kansas City, Missouri. As shown in Figure II-1, the Westport Community includes areas which have been designated by the city council for conservation and improvement. This means that substantial amounts of public funds will be spent for conservation activities such as housing inspection and code enforcement, and for improvements such as street repair and lighting. The Westport Community, most of which is served by the Swinney and Volker elementary schools, is particularly crucial for the long-range future of Kansas City because it adjoins the large inner core area that is designated for renovation and restoration. Westport itself has become one of the communities in which there is substantial reinvestment of private capital for urban conservation and revitalization. Houses and commercial properties are being rehabilitated through private investment, and the city is assigning resources to support this development in order to maintain the attractiveness of Westport neighborhoods and to build a nucleus of development, which then can be extended into conservation and renovation areas to the north and east.

FIGURE II-1

Map of Central Part of Kansas City, Missouri South of the Missouri River. The Westport Community in Relation to City Development Department Urban Development Designations.



Restoring these latter neighborhoods will not be practical on a large scale until some of the adjoining neighborhoods--particularly Westport--are sufficiently developed to inspire public confidence in the extension of significant revitalization efforts to the most dilapidated parts of the inner city. This long-range development plan has been described by Joseph E. Vitt, Director of the City Development Department of Kansas City, Missouri. Speaking to the Real Estate Board of Kansas City in June of 1978, Vitt stated that;

Capital investment in central Kansas City is one way that the city is attempting to promote development . . . the city has implemented successful Neighborhood Conservation programs in Coleman Highlands/Roanoke, Volker, North Valentine, South Valentine, and South Volker. In these areas plus the west side, the city has spent or allocated more than \$1.9 million for public improvements, primarily curb and sidewalk repairs and park improvements.²⁰

The neighborhoods mentioned by Vitt are all in the western portion of the Westport Community, in the attendance areas served by the Swinney and Volker Elementary Schools. This is primarily the part of the Westport area marked for "conservation" (i.e., housing conservation and rehabilitation) in Figure II-1. As in other parts of Westport, there currently is a mixture of racial-ethnic and income groups, including both low, moderate, and middle income residents and minority as well as non-minority residents. The Westport Community also includes many of the prominent cultural institutions in the Kansas City Metropolitan Area (e.g., the Nelson Art Gallery, Penn Valley Community College). It is the type of community which can be attractive to a diverse population such as is spurring the revitalization of neighborhoods in many big cities. This diversity is valued in Westport, both for its own sake and because it places the community in an advantageous position to

²⁰ Joe Roberts, "Realtors Urged to Emphasize Neighborhoods," The Kansas City Star, June 18, 1978, p. 3H.

attract residents and investment (both public and private), and thereby improves its chances to provide a satisfying and stable environment for the future. The goal of maintaining a diverse population in a wholesome neighborhood environment has been explicitly spelled out as follows in statements adopted by the City Council of Kansas City and by the Westport Community Council:

A variety of life-styles and family types in a community helps fill a human desire for the widest possible choice in relationships; mixing social as well as economic and racial groups, offers the possibility of bringing about more tolerance; the mixture helps to assure that a larger variety of goods, services, and amenities will be available nearby; and such a mixed area should exist as a possible alternative for people seeking a place to live.²¹

Westport for many years has been fortunate to have within its community residents of all races, religions, and economic status. It has been unique in attaining a cosmopolitan grouping which has associated with a minimum of friction.

It is important that this balance be preserved in the Westport Community. Among the many assets of this area is the possibility for its students to experience in the schools the attitudes brought into focus by the acquaintance with students of different types of environmental backgrounds. Recognition of differences and their causes and the development of understanding is a valuable quality to acquire in youth.²²

As mentioned above, the future of the Westport Community--and indirectly the future of Kansas City--depends on attracting and retaining a diverse group of residents who will invest financial and other resources in their

²¹Westport Planning Area. Prepared for the City Plan Commission of Kansas City, Missouri. June 7, 1972, p. 21.

²²"Education." Statement prepared by the Education Committee of the Westport Community Council.

neighborhoods and work to maintain and build a good community in which to live. This means that the future of Westport in turn depends partly on the attractiveness of its local public schools. If attractive public schools are not available, many middle-income residents will not be persuaded to come to or stay in Westport, others will spend significant sums of money on private schools rather than on maintenance and improvement of their property, and many low-income residents will find that their children will have to attend concentrated poverty schools in which large numbers of children do not learn very well. When this happens (i.e., when local public schools become concentrated poverty schools), some low-income parents also begin to withdraw from the public schools in favor of private schools or other neighborhoods.

This is exactly the situation which has existed in the Westport Community and its schools. By 1978, 26 percent of the students at Swinney and Volker were from poverty families, even though the percentage of poverty families in the Westport Community was less than ten percent. Middle class families had been leaving Westport or withdrawing their children from the Swinney and Volker schools, and one particularly knowledgeable observer estimated that only a small minority of middle income families in Westport sent their children to the public schools.²³ Middle class persons, including some from the suburbs, were moving into Westport as the community revitalized, but a community survey indicated that only 51 percent of the newcomers were

²³ Interview with former Board of Education member and Westport resident Ann Blond, September 29, 1978.

married and only 25 percent of this group were couples with school-age children,²⁴ This type of situation led The Kansas City Times to comment as follows in an August, 1979 editorial:

Whenever the rebirth of an inner city area is reported, it appears to have been sparked by residents described as young single, or young married, professional or at least upper-income individuals--in other words, households either without children or with children headed for private schools . . . the prime reason [for families shunning the older parts of the city] would appear to be the disintegration of school systems in central cities.²⁵

To maintain and increase attractiveness of and diversity in the Westport Community, many community leaders felt it was important to improve the quality and reputation of the Swinney and Volker schools. This belief was particularly strong among leaders and members of Westport Tomorrow, an umbrella organization working to coordinate and expand the community improvement efforts of 17 local neighborhood associations and community-wide organizations. Staff of Westport Tomorrow already had decided that improvement of public schools was a high priority goal for Westport, and had formed an education committee consisting of active parents and citizens in the community.²⁶ Working with faculty at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, this committee proceeded to meet with Kansas City school district officials in developing plans for improvement of the Swinney and Volker schools.

²⁴Summary of Findings, Coleman Highlands/Hyde Park Neighborhood Study, May, 1978.

²⁵"Signs of School Neglect," The Kansas City Times, August 3, 1979, p. 16A.

²⁶Dan Wact, president of Westport Tomorrow and chairman of the Education Committee, emphasized this point in a statement concluding that "The public education system has to be improved to maintain the neighborhood revitalization effort in Westport." Quoted in Mark Shapiro, "The Westport Community School . . . A New Kind of Public School in Kansas City," Westport, August, 1979, p. 12.

One result of this cooperative activity was the development in December, 1978, of an Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) proposal which would convert Swinney and Volker to magnet schools known jointly as the Westport Community School. This proposal presented a plan for introduction of a new instructional program in which students would spend half of each day in home classrooms emphasizing the development of basic skills and the other half of each day applying basic skills in "hands on" laboratory- and community-based learning experiences. Laboratory-based learning would take place primarily in science and math learning centers established at the two schools, instruction in the home classrooms would emphasize diagnosis and solution of student learning problems, and learning in other laboratories (e.g., communications, performing arts) and the community would provide enrichment in subjects such as visual and fine arts. Emphasis also would be placed on multicultural education and on development of positive intergroup attitudes and understandings, in accordance with the fact that the Swinney-Volker enrollment in 1979 was sixty percent nonminority, twenty percent Hispanic, seventeen percent black, and three percent Asian American.

The Westport Community School proposal was funded for \$185,943 in August of 1979, barely in time to establish the new magnet school program for the 1979-80 school year. Due to the late funding, student recruitment activities, learning materials acquisition, and staff development activities were limited in comparison with proposal specifications calling for the new program to be fully operational in the Fall of 1979. For this reason, it will not be possible to provide an initial assessment of the success of the Westport

Community School until the Spring or Fall of 1980, and several years will be required to determine whether Swinney and Volker will be successful in attracting or retaining middle class students and whether such an outcome will contribute significantly to the revitalization of Westport and other nearby communities. However, preliminary data on enrollment in the Fall of 1979 have been encouraging. These data indicate the following enrollment patterns for the two schools and for KCSD elementary schools as a whole from 1977 to 1979:

	<u>Swinney</u>	<u>Volker</u>	<u>KCSD Elementary Schools</u>	<u>Nonminority Students in KCSD Elementary Schools</u>
Fall, 1977	410	182	22,652	7,244
Fall, 1978	358	184	21,851	6,707
Fall, 1979	361	210	21,353	6,317

These data suggest that enrollment decline which has been occurring at Swinney may have been halted as a result of the new magnet program. Enrollment declined from 410 in 1977 to 358 in 1978, and administrators reported that enrollment continued to decline during the 1978-1979 school year to a point just under 300 in the Spring of 1979. However, despite district-wide decline in overall elementary enrollment and nonminority elementary enrollment from 1978 to 1979, enrollment at Swinney increased to 361 in the Fall of 1979, and Principal Mary Louise Weaver found that a large proportion of parents of the newly-enrolled students specifically mentioned the magnet program as the main reason they had enrolled their children.

Data on Volker enrollment similarly suggest that the magnet program may be succeeding in attracting students. In the past few years there has

been a tendency for middle class parents to place their children in non-public schools after they complete the fourth grade at Swinney. For the 1979-1980 school year, however, enrollment at Volker increased by twenty percent. Enrollment in the Fall of 1980 will show whether Swinney and Volker make further gains in retaining students and in attracting new students from other locations.

If the Westport Community School does succeed in achieving its enrollment and community revitalization goals, our study of the early stages of the project indicates that key considerations in accounting for success are likely to include the following:

- Adoption of the split-day program appealing to a range of parents including those who prefer a stress on basic skills and those who prefer a stress on enrichment. The split-day program was explicitly selected in planning the Westport Community School following an analysis of previous experience at Webster Magnet School and other innovative elementary schools elsewhere. The split-day program was selected by administrators and teachers at Swinney and Volker, KCSD school officials, and Westport community leaders because they felt it was inherently sound educationally and also had the potential to attract students from a variety of backgrounds. Educators and lay leaders involved in planning for the magnet school believe that the split-day approach is proving to be an excellent vehicle for initiating and carrying out the program.

- Widespread recruitment of students throughout the Westport Community. Despite the fact that recruiting was hampered by late funding, community groups were able to initiate a substantial information and

recruitment campaign during the Spring and Summer of 1979. In particular, the Westport Tomorrow organization made vigorous efforts to inform parents in Westport and other communities about plans for the magnet school and to persuade them to enroll their children. Several large informational meetings were held in the Westport Community in the Spring of 1979 and informal meetings also were held in the homes of Westport residents. During the summer, information was provided to local and citywide media, and The Kansas City Star printed a front-page story about the new magnet school. In addition, a cover story about the new program was printed in August in Westport magazine, which is widely distributed free of charge throughout Westport and other Kansas City neighborhoods. (The Appendix to this chapter provides a reproduction of the article.) There is little doubt that these informational and recruitment activities were indispensable in attracting new students to the Westport Community School.

Discussion and Conclusions

Preceding sections described and reviewed developments with respect to three elementary schools that may be playing or in the future may play an important role in urban development. The three schools are: the Webster Magnet School in St. Paul; the Dearborn Park School in Chicago; and the Westport Community School in Kansas City, Missouri. Webster is an established magnet school that has been operating in this capacity since 1975; Dearborn Park and Webster are new schools in the process of opening during the 1978-1979 school year.

It may be of some importance to note that planning for all three schools stressed a split-day schedule in which half the day is devoted to basic skills development and half to enrichment or application of learning skills. (Westport's use of this approach was specifically patterned on Webster's.) Earlier in this chapter we pointed out that this type of approach may be particularly valuable in an urban community because of its potential appeal to a diversity of parents and students. In particular, this approach may have special appeal both to working class parents who stress discipline and fundamentals, and to middle class parents who stress enrichment and creative learning. Experience at Webster indicates that the split-day approach did attract a diverse group of students. Future developments at Westport Community School and elsewhere will help to determine whether split-day arrangements can aid in stabilizing or revitalizing big city neighborhoods.

These observations lead to the obvious conclusion that instructional programming is an important consideration in making a big city magnet school attractive to a diverse population. Another consideration that seems to be important in determining whether a school can retain or attract middle class students and thus help to build or maintain a mixed-class population in big cities is the size of the facility. Experience at Webster indicates that large size may be an advantage when the local student population is working class and small; in this case the building of a large addition probably helped convince middle class parents that Webster really would have a "critical mass" of non-poverty students transferring in from other schools. Thus, middle class parents who considered sending their children could have some confidence

that Webster no longer would be a poverty school.

By way of contrast, planning for Dearborn Park Elementary School suggested that small size would be advantageous in attracting families with children because the new Dearborn Park community adjoins large working class neighborhoods from which students might be reassigned to a large new school. Reassignment of nearby students to a large school in Dearborn Park easily could submerge the resident population and create a poverty school that middle class students would not attend. Plans for a small racially-integrated school in Dearborn Park have been facilitated by close cooperation between the school district central office, city government, and project developers, and by the fact that Dearborn Park is largely a private enterprise project which avoids a good deal of governmental regulation and facilitates leasing of limited amounts of space to the Board of Education.

Our conclusion that large size may be either an advantage or a disadvantage in attracting middle class residents underlines the necessity to examine local circumstances in deciding how to organize a school or group of schools so as to contribute to the redevelopment of big city neighborhoods and the long-range health of the city. We suspect, however, that the most effective approach in big cities with large working class neighborhoods generally will be to provide a small facility mostly limited to serving the elementary-age population of middle class enclaves. This approach worked successfully for years at two small elementary schools not too far from Dearborn Park.

One of these schools is the Pershing Elementary School which enrolls children living in the Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores housing developments.

Nested within a series of high-rise buildings for middle class residents who live near Lake Michigan, Pershing was built in 1958 as a small school with only eight classrooms to serve the relatively small number of children resident in the apartments at Lake Meadows and Prairie Shores. Pershing was racially integrated for some years, but it gradually became nearly all black as white children graduated and were not replaced by new white students moving into the area. During this period of time, Pershing became something of an unofficial magnet for middle class black families who did not want to send their children to poverty schools elsewhere on the South Side. Throughout its history, Pershing's parents have strived to dissuade the Board of Education from adding space there, partly in order to make sure that students from surrounding poverty schools would not be transferred in.

South Commons is located less than a mile from Pershing, in the South Commons housing development built in the 1960s. Housing units at South Commons are mostly townhouse and cluster-development units and most of the residents are middle class black families. Constructed as a twelve-room school in 1967, South Commons is a branch of the Drake Elementary School (i.e., the principal at Drake is in charge of South Commons) which is located about one-half mile distant at the edge of a large predominantly black public housing project. South Commons opened as a K-3 school, which meant that South Commons children in grades four and above were assigned to attend classes with the large poverty population at Drake, but parents at South Commons lobbied successfully to add one grade per year until it became a K-8 school. Availability of a predominantly middle class school at South Commons has been a key element in attracting middle class black families to

an enclave in the heart of one of Chicago's largest poverty areas.²⁷

Finally, special emphasis should be placed on the implications of the situations reported above for planning of urban development in a manner that is equitable for differing socioeconomic groups and constructive in terms of the long-range future of big cities. Implications along these lines are associated particularly with two current issues in the redevelopment of big cities. The first issue involves the relationship between "gentrification" and the "squeezing out" of working class population in the central city. The second involves the problem of providing or improving opportunity for upward mobility for young people in working class neighborhoods, particularly underclass youth in racially and socioeconomically isolated poverty areas.

"Gentrification" refers to the movement of relatively well educated people into deteriorated or deteriorating neighborhoods that have become fashionable neighborhoods for rehabilitation and redevelopment. Many of these individuals are relatively affluent but many others have limited incomes and are investing a large amount of time, effort, and knowledge in restoring old houses and neighborhoods. As mentioned above, this population tends to consist primarily of young couples or older couples without children in the household, single adults, and private school patrons.

²⁷ As the number of children living in South Commons fell during the 1970s, enrollment declined and the Board of Education voted to close the school because it was underenrolled. However, as described by Chicago Sun-Times reporter, Linda Wertsch, parents "from the predominantly black, middle- to upper-middle class complex loudly protested the impending transfer of their students to Drake," and succeeded in having South Commons designated as a math academy magnet school to be established as part of the Chicago Public Schools' future desegregation plan. Linda Wertsch, "Access 'Core' for Integration," Chicago Sun-Times, September 4, 1979.

Individuals contributing to the gentrification process have made an important contribution to urban redevelopment in big cities throughout the United States. Nearly every big city has one or more neighborhoods which have become attractive as middle class residents moved in and worked to restore them. This process will continue, and it is estimated that 500,000 homes will be rehabilitated in redeveloping urban neighborhoods between 1979 and 1988.²⁸ As such change occurs, however, housing values escalate rapidly and working class residents in or adjoining the redeveloping neighborhood can no longer afford to live there. Displaced working class families frequently have no choice but to crowd into other working class neighborhoods, thus exacerbating problems of concentrated poverty elsewhere in the city and generating further deterioration of neighborhoods in the urban core. The resulting problem has been summarized by the National Urban Coalition as follows:

A combination of circumstances . . . has created an uneven but definite in-migration of middle-class homeowners and renters who are taking up residence in city neighborhoods that they and financial institutions once shunned . . . the benefits of a strengthened tax base and of some gains in residential and commercial revitalization are clashing with the deprivation, frustration and anger of those who are becoming the new urban nomads.²⁹

Achieving equity for working class residents of the city while advancing the process of conservation and revitalization is a difficult goal but it is attainable if neighborhood groups and the city, state, and federal governments explicitly strive to achieve both aspects of the larger goal. Through coordinated development, efforts can be made to help working class residents

²⁸"As the Cities Seek a New Role," U. S. News and World Report, October 15, 1979, p. 67.

²⁹Congressional Record - Senate, October 11, 1978, p. S18258.

remain in and benefit from changes in a redeveloping neighborhood, and/or to provide equitable assistance and relocation to those who are displaced. In 1978, HUD Assistant Secretary Robert Embry described this possibility or coordinated development as follows:

. . . the tools do exist, if a city uses them, to have both middle-class movement back in and permit the lower income, or working class . . . person to stay in the neighborhood, who wants to . . . The tools are available, and we are requiring cities that receive community development money to come up with a strategy to utilize those tools to prevent this dislocation.³⁰

The Westport Community in Kansas City exemplifies some of the possibilities for neighborhood development along these lines. Westport neighborhoods have received a significant amount of government and private funds for conservation and renewal, but the city also has allocated substantial sums to improve working class neighborhoods adjoining Westport and to helping low income individuals and families within Westport. In particular, a working class community which comprises the Eastern part of Westport and the neighborhood east of Westport has been designated as one of three communities in the city to receive large-scale assistance through the Neighborhood Strategy Area program. Through cooperation with Westport organizations dedicated to maintaining neighborhood diversity, the city is helping to make sure that redevelopment of Westport will not victimize the poor.

One role for the public schools in advancing constructive and equitable redevelopment is to retain and attract middle class families with children. Because middle class residents can help in providing a solid core of active

³⁰ Ibid., p. S18260.

citizens dedicated to improving the quality of life in their neighborhoods and in the city as a whole, their contribution to urban redevelopment goes beyond their obvious importance in maintaining a good tax base for the city. It is for this reason that the three schools (Webster, Dearborn Park, Westport) described at some length in this study as well as the two others (Pershing and South Commons) described more briefly may be serving as a vital factor in the process of urban redevelopment. Spending extra school funds to make such schools into attractive magnet facilities or otherwise strengthening them to retain or attract middle class families can make an important contribution to the long-range development of the city.

Related to the issue of gentrification is the problem of improving opportunity for young people in working class neighborhoods. At the present time many working class students grow up in poverty neighborhoods and attend poverty schools in which they do not acquire skills and understandings needed for success later in life. This is particularly the case in poverty schools located in predominantly minority neighborhoods, in which racial and ethnic isolation compound the problems of social class isolation. As big city neighborhoods have become predominantly working class and minority, it has become extremely difficult to provide students growing up there with effective educational opportunity. There is no easy or simple solution to this problem, but at least for the near future, one positive step might be to provide improved opportunity for talented or highly motivated working class students who might benefit the most from the chance to attend a mixed status school or a school with a particularly good instructional program.

If properly planned, magnet schools can provide this type of opportunity in big cities.³¹ Webster Magnet School, for example, not only provides a racially and economically desegregated learning environment for working class minority students in its home neighborhood, but also has reduced racial and economic isolation among working class minority students who transfer in from other attendance areas. The Westport Community School, similarly, reduces the racial and economic isolation of minority students who transfer in voluntarily from segregated inner city schools, and plans for the future call for reassignment of students from these schools to Swinney and Volker as the number of nonminority students there increases. Dearborn Park, too, potentially can reduce racial and economic isolation among inner city students in Chicago if students from nearby schools are allowed or required to transfer there on a controlled basis that ensures its status as a non-poverty school. Thus it is clear that planning for magnet schools need not neglect the goal of enlarging opportunity for working class minority students while emphasizing the goal of retaining or attracting middle class students in big cities.

Summary of Conclusions

The preceding description and analysis of the situation at several magnet or magnet-type schools in big cities suggested the following conclusions:

1. A split-day schedule emphasizing both basic skills and enrichment in applying basic skills appears to be a valuable approach in

³¹See Daniel U. Levine and Connie Campbell, "Whitney Young Magnet High School and Urban Renewal," Planning and Changing, v. 7, no. 4 (Winter, 1977), 148-154.

attracting a variety of students to enhance urban conservation and development goals in big city neighborhoods.

2. Depending on the situation, either a large facility or a small facility can contribute to the goal of retaining and attracting middle class parents. A large facility sometimes is desirable if the school is located in a working class neighborhood surrounded by middle class neighborhoods; a small facility sometimes is desirable if it is to serve a middle class enclave surrounded by working class neighborhoods.
3. Magnet school planning can and should address the goal of enlarging opportunity--particularly as regards reduction of racial and economic isolation--for working class minority students while also retaining or attracting middle class students. One way to do this, as suggested by circumstances at the Westport Community School, is to locate elementary magnets at large facilities with considerable unused space in middle class or mixed class communities undergoing revitalization, and then reassign inner city minority students to the magnet on a controlled basis as it succeeds in attracting additional nonminority or middle class students.

III. SOCIAL CLASS AND HOME BACKGROUND OF MAGNET AND NON-MAGNET STUDENTS

The third part of the project dealt with the question of whether inner city students who enroll in magnet schools are higher in social class and/or home environment (as related to motivation for school achievement) than are students from the same neighborhood who do not elect magnet options. Answering this question is important in order to be able to formulate an assessment of magnet schools with respect to the following issues:

1. Do magnet schools "skim off" the most motivated and talented students from regular schools, leaving these latter schools lacking for such things as leadership, motivation, and positive peer influences?
2. Do magnet schools have a positive impact on the achievement, attitudes, motivation, and performance of the students who attend them?

As regards the first issue, magnet schools have been criticized for "skimming off" the most talented inner city students, thus possibly removing from regular inner city schools those students who provide leadership and positive peer influence. This potential problem for magnet school planning was apparent in efforts to establish magnets in Houston, Texas,¹ and recently has been cited as a problem by plaintiffs suing to bring about more desegregation in the Los Angeles Public Schools. The national study of ESAA magnet schools conducted by Abt Associates cited "skimming" as an important potential problem that may diminish the effectiveness of school district desegregation

¹Daniel U. Levine and Connie Moore (Campbell), "Magnet Schools in a Big City Desegregation Plan," Phi Delta Kappan, v. 57, April 1976, 507-509.

plans.² Abt investigators were not able to study the issue intensively in the eighteen school districts included in their study but did report that there was reason to believe skimming was occurring. In addition, they also reported that there was evidence of "reverse skimming" wherein "parents were using magnet schools as a means to give their children with learning or behavioral difficulties a 'last chance.'"³

As regards the second issue, the possibility that magnet students from inner city neighborhoods may differ in home environment and related characteristics from students who stay in regular inner city schools may complicate efforts to evaluate the effectiveness of magnet schools. Several previous studies have indicated that students voluntarily taking advantage of special educational opportunities in the inner city differ in important respects from those who attend regular public schools. For example, a study of a highly-praised inner city parochial school in Kansas City showed that a sample of its students had home environment scores approximately twice as high as nearby public school students matched on grade level, sex, and socioeconomic status.⁴ Nearly all the students in both schools were low status black students, and the parochial school students had achievement scores much higher than students in the nearby public school, but differences in home environment made it impossible to conclude that the achieve-

²Eugene C. Royster, D. Catherine Boltzell, and Fran Cheryll Simmons, Study of the Emergency School Aid Act Magnet Program. Cambridge, Ma.: Abt, 1979, p. 8.

³Ibid., p. 132.

⁴Daniel U. Levine, et. al., "The Home Environment of Students in a High Achieving Inner-City Parochial School and a Nearby Public School," Sociology of Education, v. 45, Fall 1975, 435-445.

ment superiority of the parochial school was due to the nature of its instructional program or that replicating this approach to instruction would improve achievement in the public school.⁵ Had home environment differences not been assessed, evaluators might well have incorrectly concluded that the relatively high achievement scores of low status students in the parochial school were due solely to the instructional program.

A somewhat similar situation exists with respect to the Beasley Academic Center in the Chicago Public Schools. Located on the south side, Beasley enrolls mostly low status black students from other schools in Chicago's District 13, along with some nonminority students and Hispanic students who are transported from other locations. Students who attend Beasley do so voluntarily and are required to meet entrance requirements in reading. In addition, parents must sign agreements that acknowledge that their children can be sent back to their local schools if they don't live up to strict regulations regarding attendance, dress, and homework.⁶ Beasley has very high academic achievement placing it among the top ten schools in Chicago, but it is probable that an unusually high percentage of its students come from home environments relatively high on support for education, and it would be misleading to evaluate Beasley's effects on students' achievement, attitudes, attendance, or behavior without taking account of the nature of their home environments.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Linda Wertsch, "A School That's Almost Too Good to be True," Chicago Sun-Times, July 8, 1979, pp. 5, 72.

Thus it is difficult to determine whether skimming is occurring or whether magnet schools have a positive impact on the students who attend them without knowing whether their students differ in social class and home environment from students who do not attend. Lacking such information, one might find that magnet students have more positive attitudes toward school than do students in home schools from which the magnet population is drawn, but it might very well be true that the magnet students had more positive attitudes (related to social class and home environment) before they ever entered the magnet school. Even if a longitudinal study were conducted to control for initial attitudes, it is possible that gains in attitudes among magnet school students might be due to factors involving the mixture of students with relatively high social status or home environments rather than anything involving the magnet program or curriculum. The same problem exists in assessing magnet school impact on aspirations, academic achievement, and other variables.

Controlling for income is some help in taking account of differences in social class background, but income alone is not a sufficient measure of socioeconomic status. Thus it might happen that groups of magnet and non-magnet students might be exactly the same on a variable like percent of students from poverty families, but the magnet population might be considerably higher on parental occupation, parental education, type of dwelling unit, and other indicators of socioeconomic status. A combination of these latter variables, in turn, is likely to be more closely related to

school attitudes and outcomes than is a simple measure of income or poverty.⁷

Furthermore, home environment rather than social class per se appears to be the most important and immediate determinant of student scores on measures of aspirations, achievement, and other variables; it is primarily because social class tends to reflect home environment differences that it serves as a good predictor of measures of school behavior and performance. This conclusion has been established by a number of studies including the one described above which examined the background of inner city students in a high achieving parochial school and a nearby public school.⁸ The results of this study showed that high and low achieving inner city black students who were matched on a composite socioeconomic scale differed considerably in home environment as measured by a widely-used parental interview questionnaire. The results of this study later were replicated for a tri-ethnic population (Anglo, Black, Chicano) of students attending inner city parochial schools.⁹ Thus it is important to obtain information not just on social class background but also on the home environment of students. If one's goal is to determine whether magnet school students differ on important background variables from students in the same neighborhood who do not choose to attend a magnet school.

⁷For example, Alexander and McDill found that a composite social status measure incorporating several variables is much more closely related to educational aspirations than is a single measure. Karl L. Alexander and Edward McDill, "Selection and Allocation Within Schools," American Sociological Review, v. 41, no. 6, 1976, 963-980.

⁸Daniel U. Levine, et al., op. cit.

⁹Melba C. Carter and Daniel U. Levine, "Ethnicity, Home Environment, and Reading Achievement." Kansas City, Missouri: Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education, 1977.

Procedure for Component I

To determine whether magnet and non-magnet students in the inner city differ in social class, a one-page questionnaire was administered to all students in grades three through six in a selected group of elementary schools in Milwaukee. Since the study is limited to students in one cluster of public schools in one city, the results can only be suggestive but not conclusive concerning differences between magnet and non-magnet schools in other parts of Milwaukee and in other cities.

Schools included in the study were suggested by central office administrators in response to our request to study one or more inner city schools and the "specialty" (i.e., magnet) schools which received a significant number of voluntary transfer students from them.¹⁰ The only restriction we followed in selecting the sample was to ask that the inner city schools to be included in the study be in adjacent communities and be similar (to each other) in poverty status and racial composition. The reason for asking for the inclusion of more than one inner city school was the likelihood that no one school would be sending large enough numbers to a desegregated magnet school to allow for valid statistical comparisons.¹¹

Following consultation with school district officials, the one-page questionnaire was administered in two contiguous inner city schools and in

¹⁰We wish to express our thanks to Drs. David A. Bennett and Gary D. Peterson for their cooperation and assistance in carrying out this study.

¹¹Operation of specialty (magnet) schools in Milwaukee is part of the district's desegregation plan. This means that most inner city minority students who attend magnets go to desegregated schools which formerly were predominantly nonminority.

a relatively nearby magnet school which formerly was predominantly non-minority but now was desegregated through the voluntary transfer in of students from the two inner city schools. A copy of the questionnaire together with copies of a letter from the central office explaining the study to principals of the three schools and a letter to teachers who administered the questionnaire in the classroom are shown in Appendix 2. Items on the questionnaire were designed to obtain the following information:

- self-designation of racial-ethnic group
- education of the father or step-father
- occupation of the father or step-father
- education of the mother
- occupation of the mother

Education of the parents was a categorical item with the following values: 1 = Completed College; 2 = Some College; 3 = Completed High School; 4 = Some High School; 5 = Completed Elementary School. Information about occupation included information on the type of organization and work in which parents were employed. Data from these items were used to give each respondent for whom information was available a set of scores representing social class status of the mother and father and two measures of the occupational status of each parent. Social class was measured using a modification of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position, which gives a weight of four to the education score and a weight of seven to the occupational score derived from categories developed by Hollingshead and his

colleagues.¹² Hollingshead occupation scores range from 1 (high status) to 7 (low status). Hollingshead social-class status scores (as modified for this study) range from 11 (high) to 69 (low). The second occupational measure used was a collapsed version of the occupational status scale developed by Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North.¹³ The third was the (updated) occupational status scale developed by Robinson and his colleagues at the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.¹⁴ The collapsed version of the Reiss scale assigns possible scores from 2 (low status) to 93 (high status). The Robinson scale assigns possible scores from 1 (high status) to 93 (low status). Mothers or fathers who were reported as being unemployed were given a score of zero on the occupation scales and social class, and therefore were not included in the analysis. The reason for this procedure was that we were unsure what unemployment meant in terms of occupational and social class status for the inner city population included in the study.

¹²August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness. New York: Wiley, 1958, pp. 398-407.

¹³Albert Reiss, Otis Duncan, Paul K. Hatt, and C. C. North, Occupations and Social Status. New York: Free Press, 1961.

¹⁴John P. Robinson, Robert Athanasiow, and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics. Appendix A to Measures of Political Attitudes. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1969.

Findings

The first set of findings in this part of the project is concerned with social class and occupational differences between minority students who attend the two inner city schools (Schools A and B) and those who elect to attend the desegregated magnet school (School C). Data on the parental social class and occupational background of the two groups of students are shown in Table III-1, together with comparison data on non-minority students in School C. It should be noted that School A also enrolled two nonminority students, School B enrolled one nonminority student and six non-black minority students, and School C enrolled ten non-black minority students.¹⁵

The first step in this part of the analysis was to determine whether students at School A differed in social class and occupational background from students at School B. T-tests showed that none of the differences between mean scores for Schools A and B (in Table III-1) were statistically significant at the .05 level, although the difference in Father's Education did approach significance at this level ($p = .08$). Therefore we combined the scores for Schools A and B in order to compare minority students at Schools A and B with minority students at School C. Results of these comparisons are shown in Table III-2.

As indicated in Table III-2, none of the differences between the two groups on measures of father's social class and occupational status

¹⁵ Our use of the term "enrolled" refers to third-through-sixth grade students who completed usable questionnaires for this study. Since some students did not complete the questionnaire and others did not provide usable responses, actual enrollment figures at the three schools are higher than indicated in our text and tables.

Table III-1

Social Class and Occupational Scores* for Students at Schools A, B, and C

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Black Students at School A (N=126)		Black Students at School B (N=214)		Black Students at School C (N=75)		Nonminority Students at School C (N=110)	
	X	(S.D.)	X	(S.D.)	X	(S.D.)	X	(S.D.)
1. Father's Education	1.98	(1.30)	2.27	(1.34)	2.00	(1.19)	2.28	(1.17)
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.35	(1.15)	5.23	(1.28)	5.22	(1.25)	4.45	(1.51)
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	45.76	(9.73)	45.51	(11.27)	43.59	(11.81)	39.56	(12.90)
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	25.33	(15.74)	25.04	(14.98)	28.72	(18.13)	39.77	(24.16)
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	57.67	(17.17)	55.93	(16.15)	55.66	(16.15)	44.96	(21.46)
6. Mother's Education	2.42	(1.30)	2.39	(1.24)	2.09	(1.09)	2.42	(.95)
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.05	(1.57)	5.28	(1.39)	4.55	(1.57)	4.59	(1.47)
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	44.39	(13.94)	45.95	(12.31)	39.25	(12.90)	41.88	(11.50)
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	33.36	(24.07)	28.73	(21.11)	38.43	(22.50)	37.87	(22.73)
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	54.15	(22.03)	56.51	(20.56)	46.19	(21.42)	46.83	(20.50)

*For education: 1 = Completed College; 2 = Some College; 3 = Completed High School; 4 = Some High School; 5 = Completed Elementary School. For the Hollingshead Occupation Scale, 1 = highest status; 7 = lowest status. For the Hollingshead Social Class Scale, 11 = highest status; 69 = lowest status. For the North-Hatt Occupation Scale, higher scores = higher status. For the Robinson Occupation Scale, lower scores = higher status. Numbers on which mean scores are based vary with the availability of data on the measures.

Table III-2

**Social Class and Occupational Scores and Differences Between Scores for Black Students
at Schools A and B Compared with School C**

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Black Students at Schools A and B			Black Students at School C			t; p*
	X	(S.D.)	N	X	(S.D.)	N	
1. Father's Education	2.16	(1.35)	275	2.00	(1.19)	62	.84; .40
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.27	(1.24)	183	5.22	(1.25)	50	.24; .81
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	45.60	(10.68)	158	43.57	(11.21)	42	1.01; .32
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	25.14	(15.20)	183	28.72	(18.72)	50	-1.41; .16
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	56.52	(16.48)	183	55.66	(16.15)	50	.33; .74
6. Mother's Education	2.40	(1.26)	301	2.09	(1.09)	70	1.94; .05
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.20	(1.45)	175	4.55	(1.57)	42	2.57; .01
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	46.07	(12.91)	163	39.25	(12.90)	40	3.00; .01
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	30.29	(22.19)	175	38.43	(22.50)	42	-2.13; .03
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	55.71	(21.03)	175	46.19	(21.42)	42	2.63; .01

*Due to differences in the size of the groups, t values and probabilities used pooled variance estimates. Probabilities given are two-tailed.

were statistically significant, but all five comparisons involving mother's social class showed significant differences at or beyond the .05 level. Mean differences on the latter five variables (mother's social class) were sizable: for all five variables, the magnet school students had scores that were at least 14 percent higher (i.e., in the direction of high status) on the respective measures than did students at the home schools. This pattern suggests that mother's social class and occupation may be a better indicator than father's social class and occupation in differentiating among a group of inner city students on education-related behaviors or attitudes.¹⁶ (In the present study, decision to attend a magnet school is the behavior being scrutinized.) Reasons for this difference might include: (a) mothers may be more important than fathers in influencing educational development of the child; (b) a number of families had no adult male in the home, or had step-fathers whose status sometimes is unclear; and (3) omitting unemployed parents from the analysis may have excluded fathers whose social class is related to school enrollment patterns.

The data in Table III-2 also indicate that the single best predictor of magnet vs. non-magnet enrollment was social class of the mother as measured by our modification of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index. The

¹⁶Separate analyses comparing students at Schools A and C and Schools B and C yielded generally similar results. For the A and C comparison, differences in fathers' status did not approach significance but four of the five differences on mother's status had probability estimates less than .10. For the B and C comparisons, none of the differences on father's social class approached significance but all five differences on mother's social class were significant at or beyond the .05 level. These results provide considerable additional support for the conclusion that inner city students attending magnet schools are higher in social background as measured by mother's status than inner city students who stay in their home schools.

t value for this variable was 3.00, as compared with t scores of 1.94 for education and 2.57 for Hollingshead occupation—the two scores that are used to compute the social class score.

Another interesting set of findings is apparent in data in Table III-1 showing social class and occupational scores for minority and nonminority students at School C (the magnet school). Fathers of nonminority students at School C are higher in occupational status than fathers of minority students; all three of the differences on these measures are statistically significant at the .05 level (not shown in the text). However, the two groups did not differ significantly on education ($p = .16$).

Comparing mothers' scores, we also found that there were no significant differences in occupation between nonminority and minority mothers at School C. However, minority mothers had higher status on the education measure ($p = .04$). This pattern may mean that: (1) the minority mothers tended to be younger and hence their education scores may reflect general population increases in years of schooling; (2) minority respondents may have given answers more inflated on the education measure than did nonminority respondents; (3) minority mothers may have been more likely to have attended inner city schools where a year of schooling may represent less academic achievement than is true in other types of schools; or (4) minority mothers may need to have higher educational attainment in order to achieve employments comparable to that of nonminority mothers.

The overall pattern shown in Tables III-1 and III-2 seems particularly revealing of possible differences between inner city students who attend

magnet schools and those who do not. As indicated in the tables, mothers of minority students who elect to attend the magnet school closely resemble the mothers of nonminority students at School C in occupational status and in Hollingshead social class scores. At the same time they are significantly higher (in status) on education, social class, and occupation than the mothers of minority students who remain at Schools A and B. This finding suggests that what may be attracting minority students to the magnet school is not so much the educational program there as the opportunity to attend school with students of similar social status and attendant characteristics involving school attitudes and motivation. At the same time, it may also be true that minority students at School C are being sent there as a way of "escaping" what their mothers may view as unsatisfactory education in the inner city. Stated differently, the higher status minority mothers at School C may place greater emphasis on education and related activities than do the parents of minority mothers whose children remain at Schools A and B, and differences along this line may be responsible for decisions to attend the magnet school. Possibilities of this kind were explored in the third part of this study dealing with home environment differences between minority students at Schools A and B on the one hand and School C on the other.

Procedure for Component II

The major purpose of this study was to determine whether inner city students who elect to travel to a magnet school differ in home environment from students of similar social class who remain at their neighborhood school. We had hoped to match black students at School C with black students of the same social class, grade level, and sex at Schools A and B, and then administer a home environment questionnaire to both groups of students. However, the number of black students available at School C for matching on these variables did not allow for a large enough sample to conduct reliable statistical analyses of home environment scores. For this reason, at this point we extended the study to include students from two additional schools. School D is a magnet elementary school (formerly almost all nonminority) which receives students transferring from Schools A and B, and also from School E. School E is a predominantly black inner city school located near Schools A and B.¹⁵

In order to determine whether social class and occupational background differences between black and nonminority students attending School D (the second magnet school) were similar to differences involving School C (the first magnet school), we compared students at Schools A, B, and C with students at School D in the same manner as described in the preceding section. Unfortunately, we did not have background data on students at School E, but information from the Milwaukee Public Schools indicates that School E closely

¹⁵For more detail on the schools and on methods used in conducting this part of the study, see Lois Shelton Roskoski, Social Class and Home Environment of Inner City Minority Students Attending Magnet and Traditional Schools. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri in Kansas City, 1980.

resembles Schools A and B in student composition. That is, all three are predominantly black schools with a substantial concentration of low status pupils living in adjacent inner city neighborhoods. Students at School E almost certainly closely resemble students at Schools A and B in social class and occupational background.

Results for the comparisons involving School D are shown in Tables III-3 through III-6. As shown in Table III-3, there are no statistically significant differences between black students at the two magnet schools. As shown in Table III-4, there are no statistically significant differences between nonminority students at the two magnet schools. As shown in Table III-5, black students at School D were generally similar to nonminority students at School D. Although all the differences were in the same direction as were differences shown in Table III-1 between black and nonminority students at School C, only one (mother's education) was statistically significant (not shown in Table III-5). This difference involved the fact that minority students at School D were higher on mother's education than nonminority students at School D, a difference which also was found, of course, at School C. Table III-6 shows that black students at Schools A and B differed from black students at School D. As in the comparison of black students at School C with Schools A and B (Table III-2), mothers of black students at School D were higher in social and occupational status on all five measures. In addition fathers of black students at School D had more years of education and higher status on the Robinson Occupational Status scale than did the fathers of black students at Schools A and B.

Table III-3

Social Class and Occupational Scores for Black Students at Schools C and D

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Black Students at School C			Black Students at School D			t; p*
	X	(S.D.)	N	X	(S.D.)	N	
1. Father's Education	2.00	(1.19)	62	1.74	(.91)	58	1.34; .18
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.22	(1.25)	50	4.95	(1.53)	41	.90; .37
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	43.57	(11.21)	42	42.26	(12.82)	34	.46; .65
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	28.72	(18.72)	50	34.44	(22.56)	41	-1.31; .19
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	55.66	(16.15)	50	52.58	(20.63)	41	.78; .44
6. Mother's Education	2.09	(1.09)	70	1.89	(.98)	66	1.08; .28
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	4.55	(1.57)	42	4.46	(1.70)	43	.23; .82
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	39.25	(12.90)	40	38.21	(14.32)	39	.34; .73
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	38.43	(22.50)	42	42.95	(24.53)	42	-.88; .38
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	46.19	(21.42)	42	43.69	(25.03)	42	.49; .62

*Due to differences in the size of the groups, t values and probabilities used pooled variance estimates. Probabilities given are two-tailed.

Table III-4

Social Class and Occupational Scores for Nonminority Students at Schools C and D

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Nonminority Students at School C			Nonminority Students at School D			t; p*
	X	(S.D.)	N	X	(S.D.)	N	
1. Father's Education	2.28	(1.17)	83	2.04	(1.00)	74	1.36; .17
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	4.45	(1.51)	82	4.73	(1.31)	70	-1.21; .23
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	39.56	(12.90)	68	41.57	(10.56)	56	- .96; .34
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	39.77	(24.16)	82	35.93	(19.17)	70	1.09; .28
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	44.96	(21.46)	82	48.80	(20.17)	70	-1.14; .26
6. Mother's Education	2.42	(.95)	90	2.29	(1.01)	77	.90; .37
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	4.59	(1.47)	63	4.78	(1.36)	50	- .72; .47
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	41.88	(11.50)	57	40.57	(11.10)	40	.56; .58
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	37.87	(22.73)	63	36.70	(21.20)	50	.28; .78
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	46.83	(20.50)	63	49.44	(18.29)	50	- .72; .48

*Due to differences in the size of the groups, t values and probabilities used pooled variance estimates. Probabilities given are two-tailed.

Table III-5

Social Class and Occupational Scores for Students at School D

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Black Students at School D		Nonminority Students at School D	
	X	(S.D.)	X	(S.D.)
1. Father's Education	1.74	(.91)	2.04	(1.00)
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	4.95	(1.53)	4.73	(1.31)
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	42.26	(12.82)	41.57	(10.56)
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	34.44	(22.56)	35.93	(19.17)
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	52.58	(20.63)	48.80	(20.17)
6. Mother's Education	1.89	(.98)	2.29	(1.01)
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	4.46	(1.70)	4.78	(1.36)
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	38.21	(14.32)	40.57	(11.10)
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	42.95	(24.53)	36.70	(21.20)
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	43.69	(25.03)	49.44	(18.29)

Table III-6

**Social Class and Occupational Scores for Black Students
at Schools A and B Compared with School D**

Social Class Scores (See text for descriptions of the measures.)	Black Students at Schools A and B			Black Students at School D			t; p*
	X	(S.D.)	N	X	(S.D.)	N	
1. Father's Education	2.16	(1.35)	275	1.74	(.91)	58	2.93; .00
2. Father's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.27	(1.24)	183	4.95	(1.53)	41	1.20; .24
3. Father's Hollingshead Social Class Status	45.60	(10.68)	158	42.26	(12.82)	34	1.40; .17
4. Father's North-Hatt Occupational Status	25.14	(15.20)	183	34.44	(22.56)	41	-2.49; .02
5. Father's Robinson Occupational Status	56.52	(16.48)	183	52.58	(20.63)	41	1.10; .28
6. Mother's Education	2.40	(1.26)	301	1.89	(.98)	66	3.58; .00
7. Mother's Hollingshead Occupational Status	5.20	(1.45)	175	4.46	(1.70)	43	2.64; .00
8. Mother's Hollingshead Social Class Status	46.07	(12.91)	163	38.21	(14.32)	39	3.15; .00
9. Mother's North-Hatt Occupational Status	30.29	(22.19)	175	42.95	(24.53)	42	-3.10; .00
10. Mother's Robinson Occupational Status	55.71	(21.03)	175	43.69	(25.03)	42	2.91; .01

*Due to differences in the size of the groups, t values and probabilities used pooled variance estimates. Probabilities given are two-tailed.

Thus the data in Tables III-3 to III-6 generally indicate that mothers of black students choosing to attend (magnet) School D are higher in education, occupation, and social class than the mothers of black students who remain in their local, inner city schools. Examining all the data in Tables III-1 to III-6, we conclude that inner-city black students who attend magnet schools outside their neighborhoods tend to be higher in social status (as measured by mother's background) than their peers who remain in local schools. It should be kept in mind that our sample includes only a few schools in one city, but the same tendency probably could be found in many other schools elsewhere.

Procedure for Component III*

The third and major component in this study was concerned with differences in home environment between inner city black students in neighborhood schools and their peers who attend desegregated magnet schools outside the inner city. Having established that there was a good deal of equivalence in student composition between (inner city) Schools A, B, and E and between (magnet) schools C and D, we proceeded to select black students at Schools A, B, and E who were matched on sex and grade level with black students attending Schools C and D. The purpose of this selection process was to administer a 94-variable Home Environment Interview Schedule to both groups of students, in order to determine whether they differed in selected aspects of home environment. A copy of the Home Environment Interview Schedule is attached in Appendix 2. The selection and matching process followed the procedures outlined below.

A pool of 200 students in grades three through six in Schools A, B,

*Additional information on this part of the study can be found in Lois Shelton Roskoski, Social Class and Family Environment of Inner City and Minority Students Attending Magnet and Neighborhood Schools. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1980.

and E (50 each at A and B, 100 at E) was randomly selected from the school files. From the pool of 200 students attending Schools A and B, fourteen students were selected to match School C students on the basis of sex and grade level. Similarly, from the pool of 100 students attending School E, fourteen students were matched with the sample group of students attending School D. Table III-7 shows the pairing data for students by school, neighborhood, sex, and grade level. Thus, 28 students were included in each group.

Scheduling of Home Environment Interviews

The investigators recognized that external validity might be affected because of the problems inherent in the process of contacting parents for the interviews. For example, only those students whose parents possessed telephones (either listed in the telephone informational directory or listed in the school files) could have been contacted by telephone for the scheduling of interviews. Similarly, only those students whose parents lived at the address indicated in the school files or left a forwarding address could have been contacted in the preliminary letter introducing the study. Also, only those parents who could be reached by telephone could be scheduled for interviews, and it was anticipated that the sample would contain relatively more unemployed mothers, or, at least, relatively more families with a family member to answer the telephone and relay the message to the parent. Finally, only those parents who would agree to participate in the interview and would actually make themselves available for the interview could be included in the sample. The investigators recognized the potential problem that those parents who actually took part in the study

Table III-7

Listing of Students in Sample by Pairing Variables
of School, Neighborhood, Sex, and Grade Level

Magnet School		Neighborhood School	
Sex	Grade	Sex	Grade
<u>School C</u>		<u>Schools A and B</u>	
M	3	M	3
F	3	F	3
M	4	M	4
M	4	M	4
F	4	F	4
M	5	M	5
M	5	M	5
M	5	M	5
F	5	F	5
F	5	F	5
M	6	M	6
M	6	M	6
F	6	F	6
F	6	F	6
<u>School D</u>		<u>School E</u>	
M	7	M	7
M	2	M	2
M	2	M	2
F	2	F	2
F	3	F	3
F	3	F	3
M	4	M	4
M	5	M	5
M	5	M	5
M	6	M	6
M	6	M	6
M	6	M	6
M	6	M	6
F	6	F	6

might differ from the entire population of school parents within the target neighborhoods.

Threats to external validity were minimized through the following precautions:

1. Telephone Number and Address Search. The current telephone number and address was searched by referring to the telephone directory and telephone information, by calling relatives indicated in the school files, by calling listed but incorrect numbers for possible referral, and by contacting friends of the interviewer for possible referral. Parents were not contacted at work, since this was considered to be an invasion of their privacy and also an introduction of additional threats to external validity. This search, the success of which can be attributed largely to the resourcefulness of the interviewer who possessed a large battery of contacts in the neighborhoods, uncovered most of the current telephone numbers and addresses.
2. The Telephone Contact. Families were telephoned at various times of the day and evening, and on both weekdays and weekends. All telephone calls were conducted by a qualified black telephone surveyor. Whenever possible, the content and delivery of the telephone conversation was consistent throughout the telephoning process.
3. Scheduling of the Interview. Interviews were scheduled at various times of the day and evening, and on both weekdays and weekends to accommodate the schedules of both working mothers and mothers remaining in the home.

Also, it may be pointed out that any of the above-listed potential threats to external validity were applicable to both the magnet school and traditional school students, and, thus, would not essentially affect the tests for possible differences between the two groups.

The Interview

At the beginning of each interview, the interviewer engaged in a few minutes of social conversation, to establish rapport with the respondent. The interviews were conducted informally, but with consistency from interview to interview, both in content and delivery. Respondents were informed that there were no "right" or "wrong" answers, and that their individual responses would not be reported.

On two types of items, the interviewer was unable to obtain specific data from many of the respondents. On items dealing with the parent's aspirations for the child's future job, most of the parents responded that they had never thought about their children's future job, and when encouraged to answer, merely stated that it could be any job, so long as it was honest. Similarly, respondents hesitated to indicate the jobs they would not like the child to have.

Approximately half of the interviews were attended by some of the children, although none of the questions were directed toward them. No attempt was made to exert controls on the presence or absence of children. Seemingly, the responses were unaffected by the presence or absence of the children during the interview. The mothers freely discussed their children's school attitudes and personal traits, and the children would come and go from

the living room, ostensibly without regard to the content or purpose of the adults' discussion. Only a few of the interviews were attended by the father or stepfather. In those cases, questions were directed only to the mother.

Instrument and Variables

As mentioned above, the Home Environment Interview Schedule consisted of 94 variables shown in Appendix 2. Nine of the items elicited information on six demographic variables including mother's and father's occupation and education and family intactness (father or step-father in the home). The remaining items were designed to provide data on 88 variables concerned with various aspects of parents' attitudes, parent-child interaction, and family history and living conditions. These home environment items were developed primarily through modification and expansion of the Dave-Wolf Home Environmentla Process Schedule¹⁶ and the Purdue Interview Schedule for Parents of Primary Grade Children.¹⁷ Most of the items use three, four, or five Likert-type response categories. The measurement scales for the data are nominal, ordinal, and interval.

Analysis and Findings

The research problem addressed by this study is that before researchers can assess and interpret the effects of magnet schools, they must answer the

¹⁶R. Dave, The Identification and Measurement of Home Environmental Process Variables Related to Educational Achievement. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1963.

¹⁷M. C. Carter, An Examination of the Relationship Between Educational Supportive Home Environmental Factors and Academic Performance of Socially Disadvantaged Anglo, Black, and Chicano Children in Selected Parochial Elementary Schools. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1975.

crucial question of whether students attracted to the magnet school differ in achievement-related characteristics from students who remain in the neighborhood school. The purpose of the study is to determine whether the magnet school students are higher on home environment variables than their neighborhood school counterparts. The term higher has been operationally defined as "more conducive to school achievement," as assumed and measured by the home interview and as established or suggested by existing research on social class and family environment and their relationship to school achievement, especially as applied to the inner city, poverty family.

Of the six demographic variables, only four (mother's education, father's education, whether the mother works, and family intactness) could be used in the analysis, due to the fact that there were too few subjects with information on father's and mother's occupation to allow for reliable comparisons between magnet and non-magnet students. Of the 88 home environment variables, one dealing with mother-spouse discussion of the child's school work could not be used because many homes lacked a spouse, and two dealing with children's attendance at Sunday School and kindergarten were not used due to lack of variance in the data. Statistical significance tests were conducted for the remaining four demographic variables and the 85 home environment variables described in Tables III-8 through III-10.

The steps used to analyze the data were as follows: (1) examination of frequency distributions, correcting when possible for missing data, and recoding when appropriate; (2) examination of frequency distributions cross-tabulated by group, including differences between the two groups in measures of central tendency and in raw score differences by item; (3) use of the T-Test

TABLE III-8

T-TEST RESULTS ON SELECTED INTERVAL MEASUREMENT SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT VARIABLES

Variable	Group	Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	T Value	df	2-Tailed Probability
Number of siblings	1	28	3.17	2.02	0.38	0.95	45.38	0.35
	2	28	2.75	1.27	0.24			
Number of like-sex siblings	1	28	1.54	1.67	0.32	-0.20	41.97	0.84
	2	28	1.61	0.92	0.17			
Education of the father	1	18	4.61	1.34	0.32	-0.43	24.98	0.67
	2	9	4.78	0.67	0.22			
Education of the mother	1	28	4.32	0.91	0.17	-2.16*	50.34	0.04
	2	28	4.79	0.69	0.13			
Level of education of child expected by the parent	1	28	5.68	1.70	0.32	0.17	53.36	0.86
	2	28	6.61	1.52	0.29			
Minimum level of education of child acceptable to parent	1	28	4.64	1.50	0.28	-0.96	52.70	0.34
	2	28	5.00	1.28	0.24			
Time of evening child allowed to watch TV	1	28	3.43	1.07	0.20	1.93	46.28	0.06
	2	28	2.96	0.69	0.13			
Age son allowed to stay alone evenings	1	28	7.50	1.84	0.35	3.59**	53.08	0.00
	2	28	5.61	2.10	0.40			
Age daughter allowed to stay alone evenings	1	28	8.79	2.22	0.42	3.49**	52.30	0.00
	2	28	6.50	2.66	0.50			

***p <.001

**p <.01

*p <.05

TABLE III-9

KOLMORGOROV-SMIRNOV TEST RESULTS ON SELECTED SOCIAL CLASS
AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT VARIABLES

Variable	Cases	Group	Number of Responses by Category Level			K-S Z	2-Tailed Probability
			High	Medium	Low		
Order of birth of child	56	1	7	14	7	0.40	1.00
		2	7	11	10		
Number of years to nearest sibling and/or surrogate sibling	54	1	12	9	7	0.59	0.88
		2	7	9	10		
Number of times family has moved	55	1	4	15	9	0.16	1.00
		2	5	14	8		
Child will thank parent later for strict training	56	1	7	14	7	0.00	1.00
		2	7	14	7		
Kids cut up so much that teachers cannot teach	56	1	4	24	0	0.54	0.94
		2	1	23	4		
Not enough school time is spent learning reading, writing, and arithmetic	56	1	5	11	12	1.20	0.11
		2	9	16	3		
Parental tolerance to bureaucracy	56	1	17	7	4	1.47	0.03
		2	6	9	13		
Evidence of parental aspira- tions for the child's education (Dave-Wolf)	56	1	9	15	4	1.60	0.01
		2	10	2	16		

TABLE III-10

CHI-SQUARE 2 x 2 CONTINGENCY TEST RESULTS ON SELECTED
SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT VARIABLES

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1 High	Low	Group 2 High	Low		
1. Family intactness	20	8	8	20	10.29	0.01
2. Parental belief that children need strong discipline and punishment	9	19	1	27	5.97	0.01
3. Parental belief in the importance of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the schools	16	12	25	3	7.38	0.01
4. Parental belief that children should take their troubles to their parents	26	2	17	11	8.11	0.01
5. Parental knowledge of the child's school subjects and abilities	19	9	10	18	5.79	0.01
6. The belief that friendly teachers lack control	18	10	8	20	7.18	0.01
7. The belief that when children are lazy, the parents are not doing an adequate job	17	11	5	23	10.78	0.01
8. Parental belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents	25	3	17	11	6.10	0.01
9. Number of games in the home	23	4	13	15	5.44	0.01
10. Whether mother works outside the home	18	10	11	17	3.50	0.06
11. Whether parents talk about schoolwork with the children	17	11	11	17	2.57	0.11

Table III-10 (continued)

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1 High	Low	Group 2 High	Low		
12. The number of books owned by the child in the home	14	14	9	19	1.84	0.17
13. The belief that mothers should wean the baby from the bottle or breast as soon as possible	18	10	12	16	2.58	0.11
14. Whether parent responded to item on job not desired for child	25	3	18	10	3.61	0.06
15. Condition of the neighborhood	16	12	10	18	2.58	0.11
16. Place child was born	24	4	21	7	0.45	0.50
17. North/south geographical history of family	26	2	25	3	0.00	1.00
18. Distance to furthest neighborhood residence in past ten years	14	9	15	7	0.40	0.84
19. Educational level for child aspired by parent	18	10	14	14	0.66	0.42
20. Happiness with child's educational progress	12	16	7	21	1.27	0.26
21. Parental letter grade aspirations	14	14	12	15	0.02	0.89
22. Frequency of discussing with children what they will do after they finish school	17	10	20	8	0.15	0.70
23. Frequency of discussing children's schoolwork with them	17	11	11	17	1.76	0.18
24. Letter grade which would satisfy parent from child	13	15	12	16	0.00	1.00
25. Number of organizations to which parent belongs	13	15	12	16	0.00	1.00

Table III-10 (continued)

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1 High	Low	Group 2 High	Low		
26. Level of participation in organizations	17	11	16	12	0.00	1.00
27. Child should learn that a wasted minute is lost forever	17	11	19	9	0.08	0.78
28. Parents must earn respect of children by fairness	7	21	4	24	0.45	0.50
29. Only way poor people can advance is by education	16	12	21	7	1.27	0.26
30. Child has right to have and express own ideas	4	24	2	26	0.27	0.65
31. Parent can do very little to improve schools	17	11	18	10	0.00	1.00
32. No excuse for child sitting around doing nothing	21	7	21	7	0.00	1.00
33. Parents should give in to the kids some	24	4	25	3	0.00	1.00
34. Kids should be nicer to mothers because mothers suffer for them	19	9	23	5	0.86	0.35
35. The sooner a child learns to walk, the better	15	13	14	14	0.00	1.00
36. When kids think family rules are wrong, they should not tell parents about it	10	18	10	18	0.00	1.00
37. Best way to improve schools is to train teachers better	13	18	15	10	1.16	0.28
38. Level of mother's job	18	11	10	17	0.94	0.35

Table III-10 (continued)

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1 High	Group 1 Low	Group 2 High	Group 2 Low		
39. Whether parent responded to job hoped	23	5	19	9	0.54	0.94
40. Frequency of spending spare time doing things with children	15	13	15	13	0.00	1.00
41. Frequency with which child reads alone at home	15	13	11	17	0.65	0.42
42. Frequency of reading to child	20	8	12	16	3.57	0.06
43. Frequency of restricting children from viewing television programs containing violence	13	6	15	22	2.87	0.09
44. Number of reference books in home	17	11	13	15	0.65	0.42
45. Number of books in the home	18	24	10	4	2.38	0.12
46. Whether child uses or owns books in the home	24	4	20	8	0.95	0.33
47. Number of school related toys by category in the home	22	6	21	7	0.00	1.00
48. Whether there are games in the home for children	26	2	25	3	0.00	1.00
49. Hours on typical school day child watches television	15	13	13	15	0.07	0.79
50. Whether child attended day care prior to first grade	27	1	21	7	3.65	0.06
51. Whether child attended regular head start prior to first grade	24	4	22	6	0.27	0.85
52. Kids should be able to talk with parents if they think their ideas are better	28	0	26	2	--	1.00

Table III-10 (continued)

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1 High	Low	Group 2 High	Low		
53. Most kids should be toilet trained by fifteen months of age	19	9	17	11	0.08	0.78
54. Kids with firm rules to obey make the best adults	17	11	15	13	0.07	0.78
55. Main goal of parent is to see that kids stay out of trouble	23	5	22	6	0.00	1.00
56. Whether child received tutoring	25	3	24	4	0.00	1.00
57. Whether parent reads to children	24	0	25	1	--	1.00
58. Child's age parent began to read to child	10	14	5	20	1.78	0.18
59. Frequency of involvement with children's school activities	13	15	12	16	0.00	1.00
60. Frequency of discussing child's schoolwork with spouse	14	8	6	0	0.72	0.68
61. Frequency of talking with children about importance of education	9	19	5	23	0.54	0.94
62. Frequency mother and spouse talk with children about schoolwork	6	14	0	9	0.75	0.63
63. Frequency of helping children with homework	15	13	13	15	0.07	0.79
64. Frequency child does something to please parents	15	13	18	10	0.30	0.59
65. Frequency of spanking child	20	20	8	8	0.00	1.00

Table III-10 (continued)

Variable	Distribution of Data				Chi Square Value	Level of Significance
	Group 1		Group 2			
	High	Low	High	Low		
66. Parental attention to child's language usage (Dave-Wolf)	13	15	12	16	0.29	0.60
67. Intellectual stimulation in the home (Dave-Wolf)	14	14	16	12	0.07	0.79
68. Language usage in the home (Dave-Wolf)	19	9	16	12	0.30	0.58

between Groups of Independent Samples to identify possible differences between the magnet school group and the neighborhood school group on selected interval measurement variables; (4) use of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov nonparametric test for possible differences between the two groups on selected ordinal measurement variables; (5) the observation of crosstabulations and the collapsing of responses to two categories per item, and subsequent application of the Chi-Square 2 x 2 Contingency Test on selected variables; and (6) the use of the analysis of variance between the two groups on selected variables, with controls for mother's education.

Recoding of data was judiciously employed to eliminate cells containing few absolute frequencies, and only in those instances where recoding seemed theoretically appropriate. For example, recoding was not used on nominal data unless a logical reclassification was appropriate, nor was recoding used in cases where data distortion would result.

T-Test

The T-Test between Groups of Independent Samples was used to determine whether the raw score differences between magnet school students and neighborhood school students reflected a true difference in the populations, or, rather, were merely the result of sampling error. Variables on which the T-Test was used were either interval measurement data or contained data in a minimum of five ordered categories, so that the variables functioned like interval scaled data. The T-Test results are shown in Table III-8, which reports the number of cases, the mean, the standard deviation, the standard error, the T values, the degrees of freedom, and the two-tailed probability

that there were significant differences at the .05 level between the two groups. Group 1 is the magnet school group, and Group 2 is the neighborhood school group.

The magnet school group was significantly higher than the neighborhood school group at the level of $p < .01$ on the respective ages the son and daughter were allowed to stay at home alone during the evenings. For the variable denoting the age the son was allowed to stay at home, the mean age for the magnet school group was 7.00, as compared with the mean age for the neighborhood school group of 5.61. That is, mothers of magnet school children said they allowed their sons to stay at home alone evenings at the mean age of approximately seven years, whereas the mean age for the neighborhood school sons was more than a full year younger. Similarly, the mean age for magnet school daughters was 8.79, whereas the mean age for neighborhood school daughters was 6.50, more than two years difference.

Statistically significant differences between the two groups at the probability level of $< .05$ were found for the variable of mother's education. Whereas the mean level of mother's education for the magnet school student was 4.32, the mean level of mother's education for the neighborhood school student was 4.79. As indicated in the Home Environment Interview, item 13, the coding order is reversed. Thus, the results indicate that magnet school mothers have significantly higher levels of education than neighborhood school mothers, with the four response indicating completion of high school and the five response indicating completion of some high school.

For one variable--the time of the evening the child was allowed to watch television--the two-tailed probability level of .06 indicated that the vari-

able approached statistical significance. The mean time of the evening for the magnet students was 3.43, whereas the mean time for the neighborhood school students was 2.96. The response of two equals 10:00, three equals 9:00, and four equals 8:00 in the evening.

Nonparametric Tests

Because many of the variables elicited nominal and ordinal measurement scale data, the investigator relied heavily upon nonparametric tests for the analysis of data. Two nonparametric tests were employed: the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two-Sample Test and the Chi-Square 2 x 2 Contingency Test.

The Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two-Sample Test was used to determine whether the magnet school group scored significantly higher than the neighborhood school group on variables for which data were available in three ordinal categories. The eight variables tested in this way are shown in Table III-9. None of the variables tested by the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Two-Sample Test were statistically significant at levels of $p < .001$ or $p < .01$, but at the level of $p < .05$, two variables were significant. The variable of evidence of parental aspirations for the child's education was statistically significant at the level of 0.012. For this item, there were seven categories on the interviewer response scale, ranging from the score of seven for the highest response, to the score of one for the lowest response. The response for category seven was "Clear cut aspirations are evident. College education is a definite aspiration. A plan for providing a college education has been developed. Attempts are made to acquaint the child with college and what can be learned there," whereas the response for category one was "definitely

aspire for the child to become employed as soon as possible." Therefore, the data indicate that the magnet school student has a family environment with evidence of higher parental educational aspirations.

Also, the variable of parental tolerance of bureaucracy was statistically significant at the level of $p < .05$. This variable was an adaptation of the Etzioni Tolerance of Bureaucracy Scale. It was measured by an interviewer response item, containing five categories: one: "Works actively within the system to promote progress both for the system and for his own family. Is fully aware of both strengths and weaknesses of the system"; two: "Goes along with the system--wants best for the children but is not very active and is only partially aware of strengths and weaknesses of the system"; three: "Is quite unaware, uninvolved with the system, somewhat of a passive bystander"; four: "Is aware of the weaknesses of the system and is critical but involved in action"; and five: "Is aware of the weaknesses, is militant, and is ready to attempt change." To score this item, the interviewer discussed with the parents their views about the public school system, and about other systems such as city hall, and marked each family on the basis of their responses on the above scale.

The Chi-Square 2 x 2 Contingency Test was used with data that are in the form of two responses on each item for each of two groups of independently obtained samples. When data that were nominal or higher in the form of frequencies were gathered, they were recorded on a contingency table. When necessary and theoretically justified by the nature of the response categories, data were collapsed so that they could be analyzed with the Chi-Square 2 x 2

Contingency Test. This test was used to assess differences on the remaining 68 variables.

The results are reported in Table III-10. At the level of $p < .001$, none of the variables were significant. At the level of $p < .01$, statistically significant differences between the two groups were found on the following nine variables: family intactness; the belief that children need strong discipline and punishment; parental belief in the importance of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the schools; the belief that children should take their troubles to their parents; parental knowledge of the child's school subjects and abilities; the belief that friendly teachers lack control; the belief that the parent is not doing an adequate job when the child is lazy; parental belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents; and number of games in the home. The magnet school group scored higher than the neighborhood school group on all of the above listed variables, with the exception of the variable of parental belief in the importance of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. On this variable, the magnet school group scored significantly lower than the neighborhood school group.

Analysis of Variance

Since the magnet and non-magnet groups differed in mother's education, it is possible that other differences in home environment are really reflecting differences in mother's education rather than being independent predictors of enrollment in outlying magnet schools vs. enrollment in local inner city schools. To test this possibility, we carried out a series of analyses of variance relating predictors found to be significantly related to enrollment at the .05

level or better while controlling for mother's education. It would have been desirable to control for other social class variables (in addition to mother's education), but too many subjects lacked data on father's education and occupation and on mother's occupation to make this possible. In carrying out these analyses we collapsed mother's education into two categories (high and low) in order to conveniently test for interactions between this variable and the other predictors of enrollment. Results are shown in Table III-II.

This analysis showed that twelve of the thirteen variables on which the two groups differed (in addition to mother's education) on the T-test, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test, or the Chi-Square Test were still significant at the .05 level or better after controlling for mother's education. The only variable for which this pattern did not hold was age at which the daughter was allowed to stay at home alone during the evening; the probability of a difference for this variable increased to .07. Significant interactions with mother's education also were found for three variables: parental tolerance of bureaucracy; number of games in the home; and parental belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication. In addition, the main effects of all thirteen variables were more significant than the main effects of mother's education. These results support the conclusion that a number of home environment variables are closely related to attendance at a magnet school vs. attendance at the local neighborhood school, independent of the social-class difference between the two groups as measured by mother's education.

TABLE III-11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BETWEEN GROUPS ON SIGNIFICANT
FAMILY ENVIRONMENT VARIABLES, WITH CONTROL
FOR MOTHER EDUCATION

Source of Variation Variables	F	Significance of F
Main Effects	9.25	0.00
Mother education	0.66	0.42
Age son allowed alone	13.89	0.00
2-Way Interactions	0.86	0.36
Main Effects	3.65	0.03
Mother education	2.21	0.14
Age daughter allowed alone	3.46	0.07
2-Way Interactions	0.07	0.80
Main Effects	7.90	0.00
Mother education	2.24	0.14
Parental aspirations for education	11.42	0.00
2-Way Interactions	0.00	0.99
Main Effects	7.17	0.00
Mother education	3.10	0.08
Parental tolerance of bureaucracy	0.78	0.00
2-Way Interactions	4.12	0.05
Main Effects	6.52	0.00
Mother education	0.96	0.33
Family intactness	0.79	0.00
2-Way Interactions	0.73	0.40
Main Effects	5.68	0.01
Mother education	2.89	0.10
Discipline	6.40	0.02
2-Way Interactions	0.00	0.92
Main Effects	5.54	0.01
Mother education	2.61	0.11
Belief in 3 r's	6.93	0.01
2-Way Interactions	1.17	0.29
Main Effects	5.84	0.01
Mother education	2.16	0.15
Children should take troubles to parents	7.43	0.01
2-Way Interactions	1.98	0.17

Table III-11 (continued)

Source of Variation Variables	F	Significance of F
Main Effects	4.24	0.02
Mother education	2.14	0.15
Knowledge of subjects	4.52	0.04
2-Way Interactions	0.80	0.38
Main Effects	6.05	0.00
Mother education	2.80	0.10
Friendly teachers lack control	7.42	0.01
2-Way Interactions	8.45	0.01
Main Effects	7.28	0.00
Mother education	1.74	0.19
Parents fail when child is lazy	10.26	0.00
2-Way Interactions	0.06	0.82
Main Effects	4.70	0.01
Mother education	2.67	0.11
Teachers do not mind visitation and communication	5.41	0.02
2-Way Interactions	0.43	0.52
Main Effects	9.69	0.00
Mother education	3.65	0.06
Number of games	11.68	0.00
2-Way Interactions	5.13	0.03

Summary, Discussion, and Conclusions for Component III

The magnet school has emerged as an important element in big city school desegregation. With the emergence of the magnet school, it is expected that research will also emerge on the effects of magnet school programs. Before magnet school effects can be assessed and interpreted, however, researchers must answer the crucial question of whether students attracted to the magnet school differ from students who remain in the neighborhood school in school achievement-related aspects of social class and family environment. Otherwise, possible differences in magnet school and neighborhood school effects may merely reflect differences in the students attending the two types of schools. The purpose of the research was to determine whether the magnet school group is higher than the neighborhood school group on selected social class and family environment variables found by researchers to be related to high school achievement.

The subjects in this study were fifty-six inner city black elementary students attending magnet schools and neighborhood schools in the Milwaukee Public Schools, a school system which instituted a city wide magnet program in 1977. Half of the subjects were magnet school students who chose to attend schools located in white neighborhoods in outlying areas of the city, whereas the other half were neighborhood school students who chose to remain in their neighborhood schools.

Students were grouped by the classification variable of school type, and magnet school students were matched with neighborhood school students on the variables of sex, grade level, and home neighborhood. Magnet school students were compared with neighborhood school students on 94 variables measured

by the home interview. These comparison variables included such measures as parental education and occupation, family configuration, parental press for school achievement, evidence of learning experiences in the home, parental attitudes toward authoritative control, parental involvement in the community, parental tolerance of bureaucracy, house type and condition, and parental attitudes toward neighborhood progress and decline.

Home environment interviews--approximately one hour each in duration--were administered to the mothers in the homes of the students. The interview protocol is an adaptation of the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position, the Dave-Wolf Home Environmental Process Schedule, and the Purdue Interview Schedule for Parents of Primary Grade Children, with added items (developed by the investigators) which measure constructs of urban ecology and organizational behavior.

To determine whether the magnet school group was higher on selected school achievement-related aspects of social class and home environment, four analytical tests were used: (1) the T-Test between two independent samples on selected interval measurement variables; (2) the Kolmogorov-Smirnov nonparametric test; (3) the Chi-Square 2 x 2 Contingency Test; and (4) an analysis of variance between the two groups on selected variables, with controls for mother's education.

At the level of $p < .01$, the magnet school group scored significantly different from the neighborhood school group on the following variables: the respective ages the son and daughter were allowed to stay home alone evenings; family intactness; belief in authoritative control; belief that friendly teachers

lack control; knowledge of the child's school subjects and abilities; the belief that parents are not doing their job when their children are lazy in schoolwork; the belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents; the belief that children should take their troubles to their parents; and number of games in the home. The magnet school group scored significantly lower on one variable at the level of $p < .01$: questioning of the necessity for emphasizing basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the schools.

At the $p < .05$ level of significance, the magnet school group scored higher than the neighborhood school group on three variables: parental tolerance of bureaucracy; parental aspirations for student achievement; and education of the mother.

After controlling for mother's education through analysis of variance, all of the above variables except age the daughter was allowed to stay alone remained significant at the level of $p < .05$.

Discussion

A construct that emerged as a strong indicator of the magnet school family is that of protectiveness. The magnet school family is more protective of its children than the neighborhood school family, as evidenced by the responses to the measures on the respective ages sons or daughters were allowed to stay alone at home during the evenings. Educational research has suggested that although in middle class family environments children achieve at a higher level when their parents demand maturity at a relatively early age, in inner city poverty environments children seem to achieve at a higher

level when their parents protect them from adverse influences. Thus, the research on the inner city poverty family has suggested that the home environment conducive to school achievement is a protective one, which places strong controls on the child during the ages in which he or she may be vulnerable to physical harm or the adverse effects of environmental forces not conducive to school achievement (e.g., peer pressure and undisciplined use of free time in the evenings). Parental protectiveness, then, may serve to diminish adverse socialization forces, or at least to delay these forces until the child has matured enough to cope with them.

Linked to parental attitudes toward protectiveness are the magnet school parental views toward authoritative control, as measured by their responses on parental attitudes toward discipline and punishment. The magnet school parents differed significantly from the neighborhood school parents in their belief that children need discipline and punishment. Research has suggested that for inner city poverty families, authoritative parental control may be linked to high school achievement. The implications of the findings on the authoritative control measures are that the magnet school family provides another dimension to the home environment that is conducive to school achievement: that of authoritative control through discipline and punishment.

The findings on authoritative control are paralleled by the findings on parental attitudes toward teacher authoritativeness and friendliness. Existing research has suggested that inner city poverty children need strong authority and close supervision during their formative years, both by the

parents and the teachers.¹⁸ The results of this study with respect to teacher authoritative roles serve to confirm existing research. The magnet school parents believes more strongly than the neighborhood school parent that friendly teachers lack control of students.

This finding poses some provocative implications. Previous research has suggested that for inner city poverty students, respect for authority and close supervision are conducive to school achievement. In this study, the magnet school families, which scored significantly higher on several variables linked to high school achievement, also felt more strongly than the neighborhood school families that friendly teachers lack control. Ironically, although the magnet school parents believe more strongly than the neighborhood school parents that friendly teachers lack control, they also believe more strongly that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents, that "teachers do not mind being bothered." The implications are that the magnet school family, to a higher degree than the neighborhood school family, sees the ideal teacher as a strong disciplinarian, exerting close controls and avoiding becoming overly friendly with the students, but, at the same time, as someone who is accessible to the parents, and shares the role of authoritative and protective control.

The profile of the magnet school family environment is further drawn by the implications of the results on two variables closely related to the pre-

¹⁸ Charles S. Benson, "Household Production of Human Capital: Time Uses of Parents and Children as Inputs." Paper presented at the National Symposium on Efficiency and Equity in Educational Finance, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, May 3, 1979.

viously discussed variables: parental guidance of the child's study habits; and parental awareness of the child's school subjects and his or her strengths and weaknesses in these subjects. Magnet school parents responded significantly more emphatically than did the neighborhood school parents on the issue of the role of parents in supervising the child's study habits. On the measure, "Parents are not doing their job when their kids are lazy in schoolwork," magnet school parental responses were significantly higher. The implications are that the magnet school parents believe in a greater degree of involvement in the supervision of the child's study habits, and endorse a stronger degree of responsibility for their child's school-related actions.¹⁹ The results are consistent with existing research on the inner city student, which has suggested that close supervision of the child's study habits, both by the teacher and by the parent, is conducive to school achievement.

Linked to the findings on the measure of supervision of the child's study habits are those on the measure of parental awareness of the child's subjects and strengths. The magnet school parent displayed a significantly higher knowledge of the subjects their children were taking and a greater awareness of the child's strengths and weaknesses in these subjects than the neighborhood school parent. The implications of the findings on this measure further serve to reinforce the emerging profile of the family environment of the inner city minority family that has selected the magnet school, and, of the family environment conducive to high school achievement.

¹⁹ This finding may mean that sending the child to a magnet school reflects a greater sense of parental responsibility; on the other hand, it may be that it is the strong motivation of the children that prompts the parents to send their children to the magnet school.

Also, the magnet school parents responded significantly higher than the neighborhood school parents on the variable measuring parental aspirations for their children's education. The implications are that the magnet school parent has significantly higher parental aspirations for school-related achievement, as measured by the interviewer's rating of the mother's responses to questions dealing with specific plans for the child's education, aspirations for college, specific actions such as saving money for college, and long term educational goals for the child.

On the variable, "A child should be able to take his troubles to his parents," the magnet school group responded significantly higher than the neighborhood school group. Thus the magnet school parent agreed more strongly with the belief that the child should communicate with his parents about his troubles. The magnet school parents' responses may seem contradictory to their attitudes about the importance of strong authoritative control and discipline, but the implications are that although magnet school parents believe in authoritative control and discipline by parents and teachers, they also believe in communication between teachers and parents, and in communication between parents and children. It may be that inner city children need good channels of communication with their parents to offset partially the conflicting communications from peer groups and street pressures.

One variable for which the magnet school group scored significantly lower than the neighborhood school group was the one tapping emphasis on the importance of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic in the schools. The magnet school parents believed less strongly in the importance of basic

skills in the school curriculum than did the neighborhood parents. Studies on inner city poverty children have suggested that the emphasis upon basic skills is conducive to student achievement. The findings of this study seem to contradict--or at least seem to fail to confirm--existing studies of inner city poverty children that affirm the importance of basic skills in the curriculum. One possible reason for the magnet school parental response is that the magnet schools in the study are IGE specialty schools, emphasizing innovative curriculum offerings and individualized learning techniques rather than only the basic skills. Thus, it may be that the magnet school parents' relative lack of emphasis on basic skills was reflecting the instructional program in the magnet schools. Another possible reason is that the magnet parents may exemplify a middle-class de-emphasis on basic skills, as compared with the traditional working class emphasis on basic skills.

Parental tolerance of bureaucracy also was a statistically significant indicator of differences between the two groups. The magnet school group scored significantly higher than the neighborhood school group on this measure. Implications are that the magnet school parent is more aware of the strengths and weaknesses of organizational systems, such as school systems, and shows a relatively greater concern than the neighborhood school parent for working within the system. Studies of magnet schools have suggested that community involvement is one of the beneficial outgrowths of the magnet school concept. The findings on the parental tolerance of bureaucracy measure pose implications for educational policymakers in that parents attracted to magnet schools may be more tolerant of bureaucracy and more involved in its mechanisms than neighborhood school parents.

Summary for Part III

The first two components in this study clearly indicated that inner city black students who attend magnet elementary schools outside their neighborhood are higher in socioeconomic status as measured by mother's education, occupation, and social class than are inner city black students who choose to remain in local neighborhood schools. This finding indicates that educators should be careful in evaluating and drawing conclusions about the performance of inner city students who attend magnet schools. Differences between magnet and non-magnet students in attitudes, achievement, and other school performance measures may be due to differences in social class rather than school effectiveness. In addition, educators should be concerned with potentially damaging effects in local neighborhood schools when relatively high status students are "skimmed off" to attend magnet schools. This study dealt only with a few schools in one city, but it is likely that similar patterns can be found in other schools and cities.

The third component in the study compared the home environment of 28 inner city black students attending magnet schools with the home environment of 28 students (matched on race, sex, and grade level) who attended local neighborhood schools. Results indicated that the mothers of magnet students had different scores from the mothers of non-magnet students on the following interview variables: the respective ages the son and daughter were allowed to stay home alone evenings; family intactness; belief in authoritative control; belief that friendly teachers lack control; knowledge of the child's school subjects and abilities; belief that parents are not doing their job when their children

are lazy in schoolwork; belief that teachers do not mind visitation and communication with parents; belief that children should take their troubles to their parents; number of games in the home; the necessity for emphasizing basic skills; parental aspirations for the child's education; and tolerance of bureaucracy.

Discussion of these responses suggested that as compared with the parents of students at local inner city schools, the parents of inner city students attending magnet schools may be more protective, more inclined to practice authoritative control, more supportive of teacher authoritativeness rather than teacher friendliness, more aware of the child's progress in school, and more tolerant of and able to work within the dynamics of organizational systems such as the public schools. In addition, magnet parents reported higher aspirations for their children's education and a larger number of games in the home than did the non-magnet parents. Taken together, these findings indicate that the parents of inner city students who attend magnet schools may make greater or more successful efforts to protect their children from negative forces in the inner city environment and may provide a home environment more conducive to school achievement than do the parents of inner city students who remain in local neighborhood schools.